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General Editor—GEORGE TOWNSEND WARNER, M.A.
SOMETIME FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
ASSISTANT MASTER IN HARROW SCHOOL

1660—1715

BY

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RECTOR OF MARNHULL
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BIRKBECK LECTURER IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE task of teaching history to the middle and upper forms of schools presents many difficulties. Even when the best text-book has been mastered, there is something wanting, for the highest value of history as an educational subject lies not in the exercise of the memory only, but in the training of the reasoning power. Every teacher of history knows three degrees of interest which boys take: first and least, in that which they read in a book; secondly, in what they are told by way of supplement to the book; third, and best of all, in what they infer for themselves. History should not merely be learnt, but understood; and the smallest efforts of the pupil towards tracing causes and effects for himself and drawing inferences from the facts which he learns are worth more than the most glib repetition of observations cut and dried in the text-book.

The series of which this volume forms a part is framed on a new plan. It is made up of extracts from writers either strictly contemporary or else who

lived so near the period which they describe that they can be regarded as first-hand authorities. The extracts have been chosen, not with a view of discussing knotty historical points, but to make clear and vivid the great events. By reading them a boy will have before him a view of the time as some of the men of the time saw it. Finally, to supplement the historians, extracts are given from political songs and verse, and in some cases from the writings of poets who though not contemporary, yet illustrate the historical events they describe.

Volumes of this kind must be a useful supplement to any text-book, which, however good it is, is bound by its very nature to fail in giving the historical and literary atmosphere of the times, and further is often hindered by its limits of space from giving any but the briefest description of events. To all teachers who wish to go beyond the text-book, this series will be a valuable storehouse of illustration. Advanced students, from whom nowadays some knowledge of contemporary authorities is expected, will find these volumes spare them much trouble by collecting for them a mass of information which otherwise they would have to seek among a multitude of books. Finally, those to whom chroniclers' Latin and medieval French are a stumbling-block will welcome the translations here offered.

But it is confidently hoped that these volumes will have a use beyond being a mere supplement

for the teacher and the advanced student. They have been designed principally to serve as text-books, or rather to supply the place of text-books, in the hands of a class.

The extracts have been so chosen as to give an account of all the principal events in the period covered, either in their chronological order or in their logical connection. An analysis of the period is given at the end of each volume, to be a guide to the reader and to refresh his memory. Some additional information is offered in notes, though this is done sparingly, since it should be the work of the teacher to supply the explanations that are needed. Further, where archaic English would present any serious difficulty, the spelling, and in some cases the diction of the authorities, has been simplified.

It is true that the use of these books may demand from the teacher more careful preparation of his history lesson than has sometimes been given in the past. But the old way of asking cut-and-dried questions out of the text-book and getting cut-and-dried answers is being fast discarded as unsatisfactory: there are few teachers who would grudge trouble if their work were to produce better results. And it is certain that infinitely better results are got from teaching that is largely explanation by word of mouth than from mere reading and questioning on a text-book, since the pupils are thus trained to think for themselves instead of having their thinking

done for them. Understanding is a far more attractive process than merely learning. A multitude of disconnected facts is merely a burden to the memory; on the other hand, the mind is strengthened by the practice of drawing inferences, and putting together cause and effect. These volumes are meant to encourage the reasoning powers as well as the memory.

Two other features in the series remain for notice. Each volume is accompanied by notices of the writers from whom extracts are taken, and also by a set of bibliographical notes on the most useful authorities, modern as well as contemporary, so that the student has before him information for a more complete investigation of any point. And further, while to the volumes are assigned such limits as are commonly chosen for periods of our history, each volume is divisible into two parts, either of which can be supplied separately, so that the series can be adapted for the study of shorter periods which are sometimes required for examination.

G. T. W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In dealing with this period the mass of authorities is so great that the task of selection grows almost impossible. In deference to the Editor, I have omitted much that interests me, and in deference to the reader I have inserted much that does not. I have endeavoured to bear in mind the object of the book, and to get together a series of extracts which shall form a stimulus to school-boys, rather than a storehouse for scholars. Consequently, comparatively unimportant passages are put in, largely by way of explanation, for the reader cannot be supposed to know beforehand the story of events here related. On account of space, it was impossible to give illustrations of all the historical movements of the period (*e.g.*, the Non-Jurors and Irish and Scotch affairs); but it seemed better to make such narratives as were given sufficiently detailed to be interesting, than to attempt the task of making the selection exhaustive at the cost of rendering it unintelligible. Spelling is throughout modernized, and asterisks are not

always inserted at omissions, with the view of making the passages run more smoothly. The book is one of contemporary illustrations, not a collection of documents as evidence. Strictly contemporary authorities are cited in italics; accounts written later in Roman type, with date—*e.g.*, *Pepys;* 1728, Carleton.

J. Neville Figgis.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The period covered by this volume is one of the most important and not the least interesting in the history of the forces that have contributed to produce the England of our day, and, indeed, the British Empire. Its interest lies, not so much in the fact that it is full of stirring events and attractive personalities, but that it was essentially an age of transition. Every age is that, of course; but transition is more pre-eminently the characteristic of some special periods, which form, as it were, the watershed between two differing civilizations and their mental characteristics. At the beginning of the reign of Charles II. we are yet in the period of the religious wars. Politics is, at least in appearance, but a secondary element in a struggle which is at bottom religious and ecclesiastical. The manners, the habits, the expressions, the arguments, and modes of thought, of the age to which 'the reign of the saints' had been a very unpleasant reality were alien from ours. We are still, in fact, in the Reformation period, and so likewise was Europe until the Peace of Westphalia had securely established a new order of things. In many

ways the early seventeenth century is more remote from us than are the Middle Ages, and harder to understand.

The Restoration, although it took the forms of an extravagant ecclesiastical loyalty and a yet more extravagantly monarchical theory, was more than this. It owed its original and widespread success, not merely to that devotion to the defeated which was always the surest support of the Stuarts, but to its being a protest on behalf of the modern spirit against a rule which alike in method and fundamental idea was more medieval than the Middle Ages without a like excuse. Charles II. differs from his father, not only in being shrewd and successful, but in being modern. The reaction which brought him in did not last long. The failures of administration, the losses of the Dutch War, soon brought unpopularity upon the Clarendon Government, for such it was; and the Parliament, more Royalist than the King and more Episcopalian than the Bishops, had done much to assist Charles in violating his promises by proxy, and rewarding the party which had restored him with deprivation and proscription. But even this party revolted against the policy of the Chancellor, and he fell. Charles, whose leanings were all towards Roman Catholicism, ere long made that arrangement with Louis XIV. which he was too modern a politician to carry out upon finding its impracticability. The Declaration of Indulgence awoke the feverish panic, always latent in England, against Rome, united for a time Church and Dissent, broke up the Cabal Ministry, owing to the uncompromising Protestantism of Shaftesbury, and ruined

the religious aspirations of Louis and Charles. But, after all, these were of slight importance compared to the connection between the cousins which enabled the French King to make successful war upon the Dutch, and even after the treaties of Nimeguen to seize in peace more than he had gained in war. But the fears of France and Popery awakened by the Treaty of Dover were not set at rest till the Revolution. Danby, who was the successor of the Cabal, fell a victim to private spite and anti-French feeling; and the popular incapacity for estimating evidence had an interesting illustration in the so-called Popish Plot. Manipulated by the first of modern party politicians, this panic was like to have been the ruin of the monarchy but for the coolness of Charles and the prevision of Halifax. The Exclusion Bill, plausible though it seemed on paper, was not merely revolutionary in intention, but was well known to be practically only an instrument of turning Shaftesbury into the Mayor of the Palace of Monmouth. It was the perception of this fact, together with the impossibility of maintaining the excitement about the plot, that enabled Halifax to effect a change in general opinion, and Charles, with the help of French gold, to snatch a victory from the very jaws of defeat. But it is to be observed that the success of Charles is due to his being the very opposite of his father—matter-of-fact, shrewd, opportunist, not altogether without ideals, but determined never to let his principles interfere with his interests.

With the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford the interest of the reign comes to a close, and we hasten on the wings of reaction towards the *dénoue-*

ment of 1688. With corporations regulated, the country quiescent, and the Whigs crushed by the convenient expedient of the Rye House Plot, all seemed favourable to a royal autocracy; and such, indeed, existed for the remainder of this reign. The reign as a whole is to be remembered, for many of its results were permanent. The fact of the Restoration, the definite beginnings of political parties, the establishment of the Cabinet Council, on the one hand the failure of the Church of England, in spite of the barbarous Clarendon Code, to extirpate Dissent, on the other the definitive adoption of Episcopal government and the Prayer-Book, the outcry awakened by the Declarations of Indulgence, and by any form of irresponsible government, as shown by the unpopularity of Clarendon and the impeachment of Danby—all seemed to point to the fact that England had definitely made up its mind on many points: a limited monarchy, controlled by law and criticised by Parliament; an Established Episcopal Church, with non-episcopal bodies permitted, and shortly to be tolerated; the divisions of secular and religious ideas expressing themselves in two opposing political parties; and a resolute refusal to entertain the notion of an accommodation with the Papacy, and, indeed, an unreasoning and unjustifiable prejudice against Roman Catholics (illustrated in the Popish Plot). This would have afforded a hint not to be disregarded by any man only a little less foolish than Charles's successor.

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ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1660—1715

The Restoration.

1660. *Evelyn's Diary.*

February 3.—General Monk came now to London out of Scotland, but no man knew what he would do or declare, yet he was met on all his way by the gentlemen of all the counties which he passed, with petitions that he would recall the old long-interrupted
1 Parliament, and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion, and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next and what he would do.

February 10.—Now were the gates of the city broken down by General Monk, which exceedingly exasperated the city, the soldiers marching up and down,
2 as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the fanatics put out of their posts and sent out of town.

February 11.—A signal day. Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelli-
3 gence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, marches to Whitehall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament

being dissolved, and for joy whereof were many thousands of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night with ringing of bells and universal jubilee.

From the Declaration of Breda.

1660. *Common's Journals*, viii. 5.

To the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration of King, Peers, and people to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights, we do declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the
4 publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other (which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb

the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Pepys' Diary.

May 2. — The House, upon reading the letter, ordered £50,000 to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament; and in all this not so much as one No. The City of London have put out a Declaration, wherein they do disclaim their owning any other government but that

of a King, Lords, and Commons. Thanks was given by the House to Sir John Greenville, one of the bedchamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was reading. Upon notice from the Lords to the Commons, of their desire that the Commons would join with them in their vote for King, Lords, and Commons; the Commons did concur, and voted that all books whatever that are out against the government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be brought into the House and burned. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But everybody seems to be very joyful in the business, insomuch that our sea-commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do. And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do nothing else this evening.

Evelyn's Diary.

May 29.—This day His Majesty Charles II. came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being 17 years. This was also his birthday, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy;
6 the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet, the windows and balconies well set with

ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the City, even from 2 in the afternoon till 9 in the night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a Restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation, this happening when to expect or to effect it was past all human policy.

The Restoration Settlement.

1660. *Pepys' Diary.*

May 21.—At Court I find that all things grow high. The old clergy talk as being sure of their lands again, and laugh at the Presbytery; and it is believed that the sales of the King's and
7 Bishops' lands will never be confirmed by Parliament, there being nothing now in any man's power to hinder them and the King from doing what they had a mind, but everybody willing to submit to anything.

June 7.—At night walked up and down with Mr. Moore, who did give me an account of all things at
8 London. Among others, how the Presbyterians would be angry if they durst, but they will not be able to do anything.

9 *June* 18.—This day they made an end of the twenty men to be excepted from pardon to their estates.

October 13.—I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quar-
10 tered, which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of

CHARLES II.

joy. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross.

October 20.—This afternoon I saw limbs of some
11 of our new traitors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the

last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

December 4.—This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, etc., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried
12 under it; which (methinks) do trouble me, that a man of so great courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

Before 1705. Burnet, 'History of His Own Times,' i. 159, 160.

If the King had applied himself to business, and had pursued those designs which he studied to retrieve all the rest of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in those first transports carried everything that he could have desired either as to revenue or power. But he was so given up to pleasure that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of Clarendon, who, as he had his breeding in the law, so he had all along declared himself for the ancient liberties of England as well
13 as for the rights of the Crown. He resolved not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither set aside the Petition of Right nor endeavour to raise the Courts of the Star Chamber or the High Commission again, which could easily have been done if he had set about it. He took care, indeed, to have the things that were extorted by the Long Parliament from King Charles I. to be repealed. And since the dispute of the power of the militia was the most important and the most insisted on, he was very earnest to

have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property or the just limitation of the prerogative, such as the matter of the ship-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the Habeas Corpus Act, he did not touch on these. And as for the standing revenue, £1,200,000 a year was all that he asked; and though it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to answer all the ordinary expense of the Government. It was believed that if two millions had been asked he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the necessity of having recourse to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe that he could have raised both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther or to trust him too much.

Ibid., i. 164.

The Act of Indemnity passed with very few exceptions, at which the Cavaliers were highly dissatisfied. In the disposal of offices and places, there was little regard had to men's merits or services. The King was determined to most of these by the cabal that met at Mistress Palmer's
14 lodgings. And though the Earl of Clarendon did often prevail with the King to alter the resolutions taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to Mistress Palmer, nor let anything pass the seal in which she was named, as the Earl of Southampton would never suffer her name to be in the Treasury books. These virtuous Ministers thought it became them to let the world see that

they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of Clarendon spoke so freely to the King about his course of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers saw they had not that share in places they expected, they complained of it so highly that the Earl of Clarendon, to excuse the King passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was completed by the extent and comprehensiveness of the Act of Indemnity. . . . When the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the Act of Indemnity, the King did positively insist on his adhering to the Act. The Earl of Clarendon owned it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred. He often said, it was the making of those promises had brought the King home, and it was the keeping of them must keep him at home. The angry men that were thus disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it, An Act of oblivion and of indemnity; and said the King had passed an Act of oblivion for his friends and of indemnity for his enemies.

Growth of Standing Army.

1660. 1744. Ralph's 'History of England,' i. 34, 35.

Advantage was likewise taken by some of the Court sycophants of this incident [Venner's insurrection] to propose that a number of standing forces should be continued to preserve the King's person

and quell any sudden tumults; but the ill effects of this being too apparent, we are told the Chancellor influenced the King to lay aside any such design; or, rather, he was forced to connive at the foundation, though he made a shift to put off the immediate raising of the edifice: for when Monk's regiment of foot were disbanded according to Act of Parliament, they were taken into His Majesty's pay, as was likewise a regiment of horse by way of an extraordinary guard. And here we have the root of our present standing army, the Kings of England till then having had no other guards than the affections of their people.

Chamberlayn, 'Angliæ Notitia,' p. 209, ed. 1673.

Belonging peculiarly to the King's Court (besides above 4,000 foot and above 500 horse who are always in pay and readiness to assist upon any occasion) there are guards of horse and foot. The
16 Horse Guard—which the French call *Garde du corps*, the Germans *Lieb-Guardz*, we corruptly *Life Guard*, that is, the guard of the King's body—hath consisted of 500 horsemen, all or most gentlemen and old officers, commanded by the Captain of the Guard, now [1673] James, Duke of Monmouth, whose pay is 30s. a day, and each horseman 4s. a day.

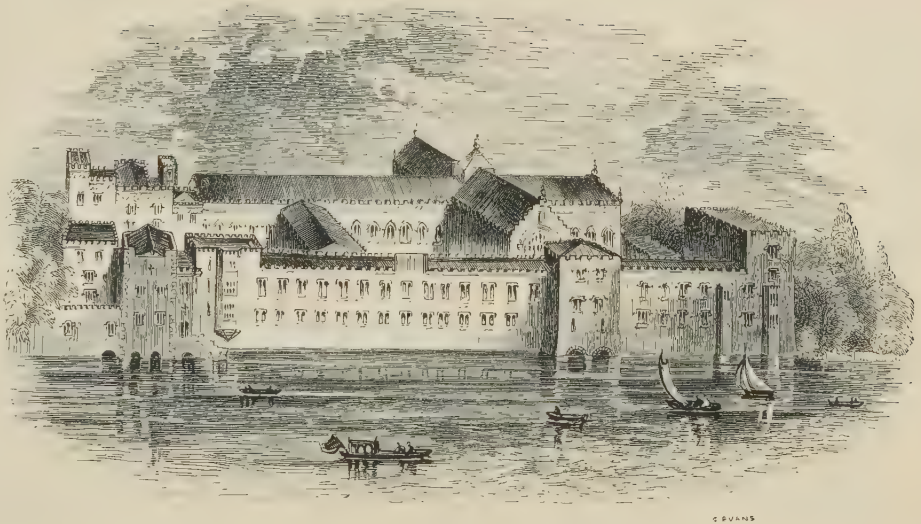
Ibid., p. 218, ed. 1702.

Besides His Majesty's Guards aforementioned of
17 horse, there are two regiments of footguards, the one consisting of twenty-eight companies, the second called the *Coldstream Guards*.

The Savoy Conference (1661) and the Act of Uniformity (1662).

Before 1705. Burnet, 'History of His Own Times,' i. 178-185.

The first point in debate was whether concessions should be made and pains taken to gain the Dissenters or not, especially the Presbyterians. The Earl of Clarendon was much for it, and got the King to publish a declaration soon after his Restoration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, to which, if he had stood, very probably the greatest part of them might have been gained. But the Bishops did not approve of this. . . . The joy then spread through the nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected of men so high and hot, that unless the Court had restrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did. But they were not to expect such success at all times. Therefore they thought it
18 was necessary to make sure work at this time. And instead of using methods to bring in the sectaries they resolved rather to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. This took with the King. Yet he was in another and deeper design, to which the heat of these men proved subservient, for bringing in of Popery. It was thought a toleration was the only method for setting it agoing all the nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery pass, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church and put under severe laws, which should force them to move for a toleration, and should make it reasonable to grant it to them. And it was resolved that whatever should be granted of that sort should



SAVOY PALACE: FROM THE THAMES.

go in so large a manner that Papists should be comprehended within it.

So after the declaration was set out, a Commission was granted to twelve of a side, with nine assistants to each side, who were appointed to meet at the Savoy and to consider on the ways of uniting both sides. . . . All the whole matter was at last reduced to one single point—whether it was lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God. The Bishops held them to that point, and pressed them to show that any of the things imposed were of themselves unlawful. The Presbyterians declined this; but affirmed that other circumstances might make it unlawful to settle a peremptory law about things indifferent, which they applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament. . . .

The Conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt, and heightened the sharpness that was then on people's minds. The Presbyterians laid their complaints before the King. But little regard was had to them. And now all the concern that seemed to employ the Bishops' thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much stricter than before the war. So it was resolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to oblige all persons to subscribe an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every particular contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Another subscription was enacted with reference to the League and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King. Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity,

which was more at large formerly. Those who came to England from the foreign Churches had not been required to be ordained among us, but now all that had not episcopal ordination were made incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice. Some few alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Bishops themselves. But care was taken that nothing should be altered, so as it had been moved by the Presbyterians; for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing. The Act passed by no great majority. And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the 24th of August, 1662, were deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices without leaving any discretional power with the King in the execution of it, and without making provision for the maintenance of those who should be deprived; a severity neither practised by Queen Elizabeth in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. St. Bartholomew's Day was pitched on, that if they were then deprived they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the latter are commonly due at Michaelmas. Reynolds accepted of the bishopric of Norwich. But Calamy and Baxter refused the sees of Lichfield and Hereford. About two thousand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. The blame of all this fell heaviest on Sheldon. The Earl of Clarendon was charged with his having entertained the Presbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying or at least giving way to the Bishops' project.

1662. *Pepys' Diary.*

December 24.—He [Lord Crewe] pities the poor
19 ministers that are put out to whom he says the King is beholden for his coming in, and that if any such thing had been foreseen he had never come in.

The Plague.

1665. *Pepys' Diary.*

June 10.—My great trouble, hear that the plague is
20 come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City.

June 29.—By water to Whitehall, where the court full of waggons and people ready to go out of the
21 town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last; and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us.

August 12.—The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by day-
22 light, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air.

August 31.—This month ends with great sadness upon the public, through the greatness of the plague
23 everywhere through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its increase. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor

that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them.

November 15.—The plague, blessed be God, is
24 decreased 400, making the whole this week but 1,300 and odd, for which the Lord be praised!

January 5, 1666.—Lord! what staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town! And porters everywhere bow to us; and such begging of beggars! And delightful it is to see the town full of people
25 again, and shops begin to open, though in many places seven or eight together, and more, all shut; but yet the town is full compared to what it used to be.

1722. Defoe, 'Journal of the Plague,' 6, 14, 166.

The richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry from the west part of the city, thronged out of town with their families and servants in an unusual manner. Nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, etc.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all
26 hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or sent from the country to fetch more people; besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered. Sorrow and sadness sat upon every face, and though some part were not yet overwhelmed,

yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so everyone looked on himself and his family as in the utmost danger. London might well be said to be all in tears. The mourners did not go about the streets, indeed; for nobody put on black or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends. But the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their dearest relations were perhaps dying or just dead, were so frequent to be heard as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen in almost every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and Death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned at the next hour.

The Fire of London.

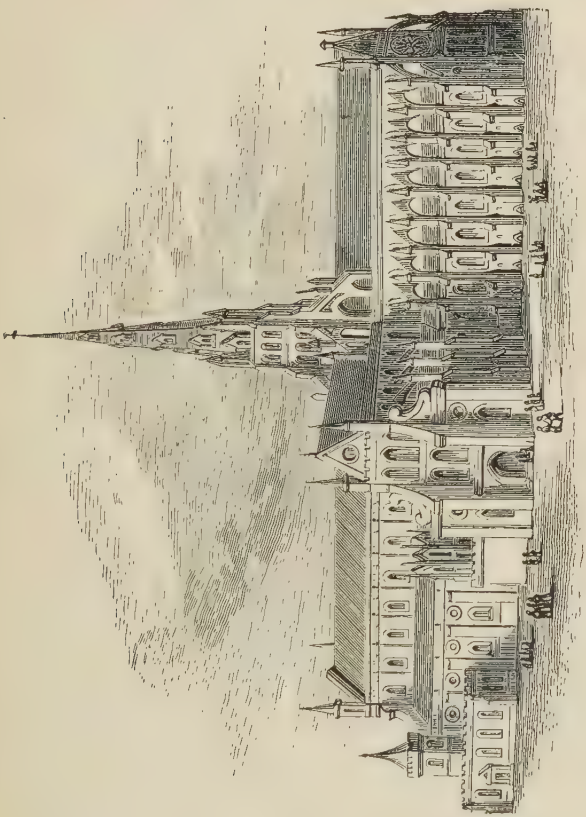
1666. *Pepys' Diary.*

September 2, (*Lord's Day*).—Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning to tell us of a great fire they saw in the
27 City; so I rose and slipped on my nightgown and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back side of Mark Lane at the farthest; but being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off, and so went to bed again and to sleep.

By-and-by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that about three hundred houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish Street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge, which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that, in a very little time, it got as far as the Steele-Yard while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another.

Having stayed, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-Yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City: and everything, after so long a

drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; I to Whitehall, and there up to the



OLD ST. PAUL'S.

King's closet in the Chapel, where people came about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was

called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw, and that, unless His Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor with him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. . . .

We to a little alehouse on the bankside; saw the fire grow, and in corners and upon steeples and between churches and houses as far as we could see up the hill of the City in a most horrid, malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. We saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long; it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruin.

Evelyn's Diary.

September 4.—The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple: all Fleet Street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Watling Street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes. The stones of Paul's
28 flew like granados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them.

September 5.—It crossed towards Whitehall, but, oh, the confusion there was then at that court! . . .
29 It now pleased God by abating the wind, that the fury of it became sensibly to abate about noon, so

that it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield north.

Pepys' Diary.

September 5.—Lord! what a sad sight it was by moonlight to see almost the whole city on fire, that
30 you might see it as plain at Woolwich as if you were by it!

Evelyn's Diary.

September 6.—It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person and
31 being present to command workmen, by which he showed his affection to his people and gained theirs.

September 7.—Saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's Church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the choir fallen into St. Faith's.
32 He [Sir W. Coventry] hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what everybody fears, because of the talk of the French having a hand in it.

The First Dutch War.

1664. *Pepys' Diary.*

February 22.—All the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur that it was a
33 thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for; unless by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided.

September 10.—All the morning much troubled to
34 think what the end of our great sluggishness will be,

for we do nothing in this office like people able to carry on a war.

November 21.—This day, for certain, news is come that Teddiman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bordeaux fleet, and two
35 men-of-war to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon that three are brought into the Downs and Dover, so that the war is begun. God give a good end to it!

Victory off Lowestoft.

June 8, 1665.—The news is this day [June 3] they engaged; the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's* ship, the *Royal Charles*, with one shot; their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face, and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say.
36 *Admiral Opdan* blown up, Tromp killed; all the rest of their Admirals, as they say; we have taken and sunk, it is believed, about 24 of their best ships; killed and taken near 8,000 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not over 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled; some 43 got into the Texel, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Had a great bonfire at the gate. I did give the boys four shillings among them, and mighty merry; so home to bed with my heart at rest and quiet.

* James, Duke of York.

Disasters.

October 31, 1665.—Want of money in the navy puts
37 everything out of order. Men grow mutinous.

January 25, 1666.—It is now certain that the King
38 of France hath publicly declared war against us, and God knows how little fit we are for it.

May 31.—As to public business, by late tidings of the French fleet being come to Rochelle—how true, though, I know not—our fleet is divided, Prince
39 Rupert being gone with about thirty ships to the westward, as is conceived, to meet the French, to hinder their coming to join with the Dutch. My Lord Duke of Albemarle lies in the Downs with the rest, and intends presently to sail to the Gunfleet.

June 4.—How we found the Dutch fleet at anchor on Friday, half seas over, between Dunkirk and Ostend, and made them let slip their anchors. They about ninety and we less than sixty. We fought them, and put them to the run, till they met with
40 about sixteen sail of fresh ships, and so bore up again. The fight continued till night, and then again the next morning from five till seven at night. And so, too, yesterday morning they began again, and continued till about four o'clock, they chasing us for the most part of Saturday and yesterday, we flying from them.

June 6.—A very serious account how upon Monday the two fleets fought all day till seven at night, and
41 then the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight. We were so overtaken with this good news that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel, and there all the

Court was in a hubbub, being rejoiced over head and ears with this good news.

June 7.—My Lord Browncker tells me the contrary news, which astonishes me, that is to say, we are beaten—lost many ships and good commanders; have

PEPYS.

42 not taken one ship of the enemy's; and so can only report ourselves a victory; nor is it certain that we were masters of the field. This news do much trouble me and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it and the pride and presumption that brought us to it.

June 18.—This day the great news is come of the French, their taking the island of St. Christopher's
43 from us; and it is to be feared they have done the like of all these islands thereabouts; this makes me mad.

July 21.—Commissioner Pett tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleet. No discipline; nothing but swearing and cursing, and everybody doing what they please. He fears, and I do no less, that God
44 Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder; he observing to me, too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleet; and the truth is that the gentleman-captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order.

October 20.—Commissioner Middleton says that
45 the fleet was in such a condition as to discipline as if the devil commanded it.

February 28, 1667.—We do intend to keep but a
46 flying fleet this year; which it may be may preserve us a year longer, but the end of it must be ruin.

June 3.—Reflecting upon the bad management of things now compared with what it was in the late
47 rebellious times, when men, some for fear and some for religion, minded their business, which none now do, by being void of both.

June 10.—Up, and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore, and more pressing orders for fire-ships. So we all down to
48 Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work; but, Lord! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch.

The Dutch Fleet in the Medway.

Evelyn's Diary.

June 10. — To London, alarm'd by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleet at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with part of their fleet, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible mischief in burning several of our best men-of-war lying at anchor and moor'd there, and all this through our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleet in due time. This alarm caused me, fearing the enemy might venture up the Thames even to London (which they might have done with ease, and fired all the vessels in the river, too), to send away my best goods, plate, etc., from my house to another
49 place. The alarm was so great that it put both country and City into a panic fear and consternation, such as I hope as I shall never see more; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither. Now were land forces despatched with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton, Prince Rupert, and the Duke, to hinder the Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chains and booms; but the resolute enemy brake through all, and set fire on our ships, and retreated in spite, stopping up the Thames, the rest of their fleet lying before the mouth of it.

Pepys' Diary.

June 14, 1667.—The hearts as well as affections of
50 the seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, 'This comes of your not paying our hus-

bands; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not.'

July 12.—[The Chancellor] did say at his table, 'Treachery! I could wish we could prove there was
51 anything of that sort in it; for that would imply some wit and thoughtfulness; but we are ruined merely by folly and neglect.'

1667. *A. Marvell, Last Instructions to a Painter.*

After this loss to relish discontent
Some one must be accus'd by punishment;
All our miscarriages on Pett must fall,
His name alone seems fit to answer all.
Whose counsel first did this mad war beget?
Who all commands sold through the navy? Pett.
Who would not follow when the Dutch were beat?
Who treated out the time at Bergen? Pett.
Who the Dutch fleet with storms disabled met?
52 And, rifling prizes, them neglected? Pett.
Who all our seamen cheated of their debt,
And all our prizes who did swallow? Pett.
Who did advise no navy out to set?
And who the forts left unprepared? Pett.
Who to supply with powder did forget
Languard, Sheerness, Gravesend and Upnor? Pett.
Who all our ships in Chatham net?
Who should it be but the fanatic Pett?
Pett, the sea-architect in making ships,
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.
Had he not built, none of these faults had been;
If no creation there had been no sin.
But his great crime, one boat away he sent,
That lost our fleet and did our flight prevent.

The Peace of Breda.

1667. *Temple's Works*, ii. 133.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry to Sir W. Temple.

August 4.—We were so very busy in despatching away Sir John Coventry for England with the treaties that I had not leisure till now to give you an account of it. That betwixt the States and us consisteth in an absolute abolition of all pretences on either side, each to remain masters of what they were in possession of the 10th of May, 1667; what since taken to be restored, as to lands and fortresses; ships are yet liable till after publication; when all hostilities are to cease within twelve days in the Channel, and so proportionably in other seas; then the whole treaty of 1662
53 renew'd, and we both to make use of the articles betwixt France and this State for contraband goods, till such time as we can agree of one betwixt ourselves. The rest is a restoring the treaty in 1662, as to all its articles except the eleventh, wherein our pretensions are contained. As to the Act of Navigation you will hear much noise, that that is repealed. There is no such thing. Neither doth the article about that matter give the States any more advantage than as I conceive the Act gave them before. As to the French, we restore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done put in oblivion.

Pepys' Diary.

July 13.—It is an odd and sad thing to say that
54 though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet everybody's fear almost is that the Dutch will not

stand by their promise now the King hath consented to all they would have.

It was pleasantly said by a man in this city, a stranger to one that told him the peace was concluded, 'Well, and have you a peace?' 'Yes.' 'Why, then, hold your peace.'

Sir John Denham, Directions to a Painter.

Draw England ruined by what was given before,
Then draw the Commons slow in giving more:
Too late grown wiser, they their treasure see
Consumed by fraud or lost by treachery;
And vainly now we'd some amount receive
Of those vast sums, which they so idly gave,
And trusted to the management of such
As Dunkirk sold to make war with the Dutch;
Dunkirk design'd once to a nobler use
Than to erect a petty Lawyer's* house.
But what account would they from those expect,
Who to grow rich themselves the State neglect;
Men who in England have no other lot
Than what they by betraying it have got;
Who can pretend to nothing but disgrace,
Where either birth or merit find a place?
Plague, fire, and war have been the nation's curse,
But to have these our rulers is a worse:
Yet draw these causers of the kingdom's woe,
Still urging dangers from our growing foe,
Asking new aid for war with the same face,
As if, when given, they meant not to make peace.
With these new millions might we not expect
Our foes to vanquish, we ourselves protect;

* Clarendon.

If not to beat them off usurped seas,
At least to force an honourable peace ;
But though the angry fate, or folly rather,
Of our perverted State allow us neither,
Could we hope less to defend our shores
Than guard our harbours, forts, our ships and stores ?
We hoped in vain : of these remaining are,
Not what we saved, but what the Dutch did spare.

The Fall of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

1667. *Evelyn's Diary.*

August 27.—Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom His Majesty had sent for the seals a few days before ; I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. The Parliament had accused him, and he had enemies at Court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them and stood in their way ; I could name some of the chief. The truth is, he made few friends during his grandeur
56 among the royal suffers, but advanced the old rebels. He was, however, though no considerable lawyer, one who kept up the form and substance of things in the nation with more solemnity than some would have had. He was my particular kind friend on all occasions. The Cabal, however, prevailed, and that party in Parliament. Great division at Court concerning him, and divers great persons interceding for him.

Pepys' Diary.

August 27.—This business of my Lord Chancellor's
57 was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber.

November 15.—The Lords cannot agree to the confining or sequestering of the Earl of Clarendon from
58 the Parliament, forasmuch as they do not specify any particular crime which they lay upon him and call treason.

*Chief Charges Against Clarendon.**

Commons' Journals, ix. 16.

I. That the Earl of Clarendon hath designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; advised the King to dissolve the present Parliament; to lay aside all thoughts of Parliament for the future; to govern by military power.

II. That he hath, in hearing of many of his Majesty's subjects, falsely and seditiously said, The King was in his heart a Papist, Popishly-affected; or words to that effect.

59 IV. That he hath advised and procured divers of his Majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against Law, in remote islands, garrisons and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the Law; and to introduce precedents for imprisoning any other of his Majesty's subjects in like manner.

XI. That he advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being Part of his Majesty's Dominions.

XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed his

* These were answered by Clarendon, but not officially made.

Majesty and the Nation, in foreign Treaties and Negociations relating to the late War.

EARL OF CLARENDON.

XVII. That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the Fleet, about June, 1666.

*Extracts from Lord Clarendon's Vindication.**

1668. 'Clarendon's Tracts,' pp. 84, 86, 87.

When his Majesty was pleased first to send me an intimation of his purpose to take the Seal from me, which was by the Duke of York, he vouchsafed to use all the gracious expressions that can be imagined; . . . that I well knew the condition of his affairs, and how much he depended upon the *House of Commons* for a Supply of Money, without which he should not be able to support his Government: his advice therefore was, that I should deliver up the Seal to him out of my own choice, by which he should be able to protect me from further inconvenience; and it would be so grateful to the Parliament, that he should in consideration thereof receive all that he
60 could desire from them. . . .

From the beginning of the prosecution in Parliament against me, some persons who wished me very well, and were well inform'd of the severe intentions against me, earnestly advised me to withdraw myself, and thereby to provide for my security; which I utterly refused to do. And it is well known that the day when the *House of Commons* sent up their general Impeachment of High-Treason against me, that my Coach was ready and waited three or four Hours to carry me to the House, I expecting to be sent for till the rising of the House. When the Debate grew so hot in the *House of Peers* and that after many Expostulations from the *House of Commons*, the *House of Lords* still refused to commit

* Published later.

me to prison, I received new importunities from my friends to make my escape; and they were perswaded by some who had had the greatest hand in contriving my ruin, to believe that it would be grateful to the King, and that there should be no means to obstruct my going away. . . .

The Duke bid his wife* send presently to me, and conjure me presently to be gone; that she should let me know that it was absolutely necessary for the King's service; and that I might be very confident and secure, that I should meet with no obstruction in the way, nor undergo the least damage in my honour or fortune by being gone. And upon this authority and command I did the same night, on Saturday the last of November, One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty and Seven, leave my own house, and went by coach to Erith, where I embarked; and it pleased God, after four days struggling with ill wind and weather, I arrived at *Calais* the Wednesday following. And I did no more in this adventure, whatever prejudice I have undergone by it, than I shall always do, in sacrificing my honour and my life itself, upon the least intimation of his Majesty's pleasure.

From the Protest of the Earl of Strafford against the Act of Banishment of Clarendon.

Lords' Journals, xii. 168.

To require such commitment seems to be contrary to the Petition of Right and Magna Charta, and the rights not only of the Peers, and great persons of this

* Clarendon's daughter.

kingdom, but the birthright even of the meanest subjects; and therefore these proceedings not having been according to law and the ancient rules of Par-
61 liament hath given opportunity to the Earl of Clarendon to absent himself. The commitment upon a general impeachment hath been heretofore and may be again of most dangerous consequence.

The Triple Alliance.

1668. *Temple's Works*, ii. 57.

Sir William Temple to Mr. Godolphin.

Brussels,
January 28, 1668.

About the end of last month I passed through this place with a private commission from His Majesty to sound the mind of the States in what concerns the present quarrel between the two crowns [France and Spain], and how they [the States] were disposed to join with him in the share of a war or project of a peace to be endeavoured by our joint offices between
62 them. From hence I went to London with the private account of what I had in charge. After five days' stay there, I was despatched back as his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, with full power to treat and conclude upon those points which His Majesty esteemed necessary for our common safety and the repose of Christendom in this conjuncture.

Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my first audience on the 18th, and on the 23rd were signed by me and the Commissioners given me by the States, with full

powers, three several instruments of our present treaty; the first containing a league defensive and perpetual between His Majesty and the States against

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

all persons without exception which shall invade either of them.

The second instrument contains our joint obliga-

tions to dispose France to make peace in Flanders upon one of the alternatives already proposed, and likewise to dispose Spain to accept it before the end of May; but, in case of difficulty made by them, to dispose France, however, to stop all farther progress of its own arms there, and leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends proposed in this league.

The third instrument contains certain separate articles not to be committed to letters.

'Tis hardly imaginable the joy and wonder conceived here upon the conclusion of this treaty, brought to an issue in five days, nor the applause given to His Majesty's resolution as the wisest and happiest that could in this conjuncture be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his neighbours' advantage; nor are the reflections upon the conduct of it less to the advantage of the present Ministry in England; the thing being almost done here as soon as my journey was known in London, and before my errand was suspected by any public Minister here.

Three days after our signing, the Swedish Ambassador signed another instrument jointly with me and the States Commissioners, obliging his master to enter as principal into the same alliance.

Ibid., 52.

For His Majesty he neither thought it for his own interest nor safety, nor for that of the States or of Christendom in general, that Flanders should be
63 lost, and therefore was resolved to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the States were of the same mind.

DE WITT'S FEARS.

Ibid., 54.

Though this resolution seemed now to be taken by his Majesty and his Ministers upon the surest and wisest foundations, which were those of true interest and safety, yet no man knew how long they might last. That if they should break all their measures with France and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by such a conjunction, any change of
64 councils in England would be their certain ruin. That he knew not this present Ministry, and could say nothing to them, but that he knew the last too well. Upon which he said a good deal of our uncertain conduct since His Majesty's return, and concluded that the unsteadiness of Councils in England seemed a fatal thing to our Constitution.

TEMPLE'S VIEWS.

Ibid., 59.

They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of such importance to Christendom. But I will tell you the secret of it. To draw things out of
65 their centre requires labour and address to put them into motion; but to make them return thither Nature helps so far that there needs no more than just to set them agoing. Now, I think a strict alliance is the true centre of our two nations. . . . In short, the two nations are closer united than if there never had been a war.

AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

1668. *Ibid.*, 114.

Temple to Arlington.

I have been the more earnest in bringing this matter to an issue here (which the Holland Ambassador says had never been done without me), because I conceived that the peace was necessary for the constitution of His Majesty's present affairs. And since he has had the glory of making two peaces so important, we have now nothing to wish but to see him in a condition to make war as well as peace whenever the honour and interest of his crowns shall make it
66 necessary; for that necessity can, I suppose, be no ways long avoided but by our being in a posture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make advantage of it. And I think the best time to fall into counsels tending to this great end will be after the conclusion of this general peace, when no engagement abroad forces his Majesty to have so much need of money from his people. For the time to repair the harms that storms have done a house is in fair weather; and to mend a leaky ship she must be brought ashore.

The Treaty of Dover (1670).

1682. 'State Tracts,' i. 10.

Colbert de Croissy, Ambassador from France to the Court of England, after having set forth to the King of England all the reasons he had to be dissatisfied with the Dutch, after reminding him of the medals

HENRIETTA, DUCHESS OF ORLEANS, AND HER CHILDREN.

in which the Dutch attributed to themselves all the honour of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and treated the mediation of England with so much contempt, he at last gave him to know that the time was come of being revenged upon a nation that had so little respect for Kings, and he could never meet with a more favourable opportunity. Upon this representation that Prince sign'd a private treaty with France; and, to give him farther assurances upon the matter, Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orleans, a Princess whose wit and capacity was equal to her beauty, sister to the King of England and sister-in-law to the King of France, cross'd over to England in 1670, and in the name of the Most Christian King made a
67 proposal to her royal brother of *insuring to him an absolute authority over his Parliament re-establishing the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* But with the same breath she gave him to know that there was a necessity above all things of lowering the pride and power of the Dutch, and of reducing that State to the narrow compass of the Province of Holland, of which the Prince of Orange should be Sovereign, or, at least, perpetual Stadtholder; that by this scheme the King of England should have Zealand for a retreat in case of necessity, and the rest of the Netherlands should remain in the hands of the King of France if he could make himself master of it.

[This passage is taken from a translation of the 'History of the Dutch War' by the Abbé Primi, published at Louis' instigation in 1682, to revenge himself upon Charles for his action in regard to Luxemburg. Afterwards the book was suppressed and the Abbé nominally punished.]

The Treaty.

Lingard, vii. 628, 629.

The King of Great Britain, being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to make his declaration of it and to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, thinks that the best means to prevent the [public] tranquillity being checked is
68 to be assured in case of need of the assistance of his most Christian Majesty, who promises to furnish to the King of England for this object the sum of 2,000,000 *livres tournoises* . . . and, further, that the said King obliges himself to assist His Britannic Majesty as often as there shall be need, to the number of 6,000 men ; the day for executing the design shall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

The Second Dutch War (1672).

The Closing of the Exchequer.

Before 1705. Burnet, 'History of His Own Times,' i. 306.

Our Court, having resolved on a war, did now look out for money to carry it on. The King had been running into a great debt ever since his Restoration. The King, in order to the keeping his credit, had
69 dealt with some bankers, and had assigned over the revenue to them. The King had them at the rate of 8 per cent., and they paid those who put money in their hands only 6 per cent. ; and had great credit, for payments were made very punctually. So one of the ways proposed for supplying the King with

money was that he should stop these payments for a year, it being thought certain that by the end of the year the King would be out of all his necessities by the hopes they had of success in the war. The Earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice.

Evelyn's Diary.

March 12, 1672.—Now was the first blow given by us to the Dutch army of the Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes and Lord Ossory, in which we received little save blows and a worthy reproach for attacking our neighbours ere any war was proclaimed, and then pretending the occasion to be that some time before the *Merlin* yacht chancing to sail through the whole Dutch fleet, their Admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. Surely this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours. We are like to thrive accordingly. Lord Ossory several times deplored to me his being
70 engaged in it. There is no doubt but we should have surprised this exceeding rich fleet had not the avarice and ambition of Holmes and Spragge separated themselves and wilfully divided our fleet, on presumption that either of them was strong enough to deal with the Dutch convoy without joining; but they so warmly plied our divided fleets that whilst in conflict the merchants sailed away and got safe into Holland. A few days before this the Treasurer of the Household, Sir Thomas Clifford, hinted to me, as a confidant, that His Majesty *would shut up the Exchequer;* 'but,' says he, 'it will soon be open again and everybody satisfied;' for this bold man, who had been the sole adviser of the King to invade that sacred stock

(though some pretend it was Lord Ashley's counsel, then Chancellor of the Exchequer), was so over-confident of the success of this unworthy design against the Smyrna merchants as to put His Majesty on an action which not only lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widows and orphans whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit that he might have commanded half the wealth of the nation. The credit of this bank being thus broken did exceedingly discontent the people, and never did his Majesty's affairs prosper to any purpose after that, for as it did not supply the expense of the meditated war, so it melted away, I know not how.

Course of the War.

Before 1705. Burnet, 'History of His Own Times,' i. 307.

By the Peace of Breda it was provided that in order to the security of trade no merchant's ships should be for the future fallen on till six months after a declaration of war. The Dutch had a rich fleet coming
71 from Smyrna under the convoy of a few men-of-war. Our Court had advice of this, and Holmes was ordered to lie for them, and take them near the Isle of Wight. This was a breach of faith such as even Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of. The unsuccessfulness of it made it appear as ridiculous as it was base.

1728. Carleton's 'Memoirs,' 3-6.

In the year 1672, war being proclaimed with Holland, it was looked upon among nobility and gentry

as a blemish not to attend the Duke of York aboard the fleet, who was then declared Admiral. The fleet set sail from the buoy off the Nore about the beginning of May, in order to join the French fleet, then at anchor in St. Helen's Road under the command of the Count d'Estrée. But in executing this design we had a very narrow escape; for de Ruyter, the Admiral of the Dutch fleet, having notice of our intentions, waited to have intercepted us at the mouth of the river, but by the assistance of a great fog we passed Dover before he was aware of it.

A day or two after the joining of the English and the French we sailed directly towards the Dutch coast, where we soon got sight of their fleet, a sound called the Galloper lying between. The Dutch seemed willing there to expect an attack from us,
72 but it was resolved to avoid coming to a battle for the present and to sail directly for Solebay. We had not been in Solebay above four or five days when de Ruyter, hearing of it, made his signal for sailing in order to surprise us; and he had certainly had his aim had there been any breeze of wind to favour him. But though they made use of all their sails, there was so little air stirring that we could see their fleet making towards us long before they came up. It was about four in the morning of the 28th of May when we first made the discovery, and about eight the same morning the blue squadron, under the Earl of Sandwich, began to engage with Van Ghent, who commanded the Amsterdam squadron; and about nine the whole fleets were under a general engagement. The fight lasted till ten at night, and with equal fury on all sides, the

French excepted, who appeared stationed there rather as spectators than parties. During the fight the English Admiral had two ships disabled under him, and was obliged, about four in the afternoon, to remove himself a third time into the *London*. On his entrance upon the *London*, which was the ship I was in, and on our hoisting the standard, de Ruyter and his squadron seemed to double their fire upon her. Notwithstanding all which, the Duke of York remained all the time upon quarter-deck, and as the bullets plentifully whizzed around him, would often rub his hands, and say, 'Sprage, Sprage, they follow us still.' I am very sensible later times have not been over-favourable in their sentiments of that unfortunate Prince's valour; yet I cannot omit the doing a piece of justice to his memory in relating a matter of fact of which my own eyes were witnesses, and saying that if intrepidity and undauntedness may be reckoned any parts of courage, no man in the fleet better deserved the title of courageous or behaved himself with more gallantry than he did.

The English lost the *Royal James*, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, and amongst the rest the Earl himself. This was the only ship the English lost in this long engagement. The Dutch had one man-of-war sunk, with their Admiral, Van Ghent, who was slain in the close engagement with the Earl of Sandwich. This engagement lasted fourteen hours, and was looked upon as the greatest that ever was fought between the English and the Hollander.

Soon after this sea-engagement I left the fleet. And the Parliament, the winter following, manifesting their resentments against two of the plenipotentiaries,

Buckingham and Arlington, who had been sent over into Holland, expressing withal their great umbrage taken at the prodigious progress of the French arms in the United Provinces, and warmly remonstrating the inevitable danger attending England in their ruin; King Charles, from all this, and for want of the expected supplies, found himself under a necessity of clapping up a speedy peace with the Dutch.

Before 1705. Burnet, i. 352.

1673.—The Duke carried all his commissions to the King.* Prince Rupert was sent to command the fleet. He had two or three engagements with the Dutch, that were well fought on both sides, but were of no great consequence. None of the French
73 ships engaged except one, who charged their Admiral for his ill conduct; but instead of reward he was clapt in the Bastille. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole nation. All men cried out and said we were engaged in a war by the French, that they might have the pleasure to see the Dutch and us destroy one another, while they knew our seas and ports and learned all our methods. . . .

Ibid., 368.

1674.—The French resolved to accept of the King's mediation. And so the King got out of the war very little to his honour, having both engaged in it upon
74 unjust grounds and managed it all along with ill conduct and bad success; and now he got out of it in so poor and so dishonourable a manner that with it he lost his credit both at home and abroad.

* On account of the Test Act.

Toleration (1672) and the Test (1673).

Before 1705. Burnet, 'History of His Own Times,' i. 307, 308.

A Declaration was set out, suspending the execution of all penal laws, both against Papists and Nonconformists. Papists were no more to be prosecuted for their way of worship in their own houses, and the Nonconformists were allowed to have open meeting-houses, for which they were to take out licenses, and none were to disturb those who should meet for worship by virtue of those licenses. Lord Keeper Bridgeman had lost all credit at Court, so they were seeking an occasion to be rid of him. He refused to put the Seal to the Declaration, as judging it contrary to law. So he was dismissed, and the Earl of Shaftesbury was made Lord Chancellor. Lord Clifford was made
75 Lord Treasurer. And, as Arlington was made an Earl, Lauderdale was made a Duke; and this Junto, together with the Duke of Buckingham, being called the Cabal, it was observed that Cabal proved a technical word, every letter in it being the first letter of those five—Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. They had all of them great presents from France, besides what was openly given them.

The Court had now given such broad intimations of an ill design, both on our religion and the civil constitution, that it was no more a jealousy. All was now open and barefaced. In the King's presence the Court flatterers were always magnifying absolute Government and reflecting on the insolence of a

House of Commons. The King said once to the Earl of Essex that he did not wish to be like a Grand Signior with some mutes about him, and bags of bow-strings to strangle men as he had a mind; but he did not think he was a King, as long as a company of fellows were looking into all his actions and

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

examining his Ministers, as well as his accounts. He reckoned now he had set the Church party at such a distance that it was impossible to make them firm in opposition to his designs. He hoped the Church party would be always submissive. And he had the Dissenters at mercy.

Before 1705. *Ibid.*, i. 345-352.

The Ministry was all broke to pieces. The Duke of Buckingham was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the rest. But he went so entirely into all their ill designs that the King considered him, and either loved or feared him so much that he had a deep root with him. Lord Clifford stuck firm to the Duke, and was heated with the design of bringing in Popery. Arlington thought that the design was now lost, and that it was necessary for the King to make up with his people in the best manner he could. Shaftesbury was resolved to save himself on any terms. The money was exhausted, so it was necessary to have a session of Parliament, and one was called in the beginning of the year. At the opening it, the King spoke of the Declaration for liberty of conscience.
78 He said he had seen the good effects of it, and that he would stick to it, and maintain it. He was engaged in a war for the honour of the nation, and therefore he demanded the supplies necessary to carry it on. On these heads Lord Shaftesbury enlarged; but no part of his speech was more amazing than that, speaking of the war with the Dutch, he said, *Delenda est Carthago*. Yet, while he made a base complying speech in favour of the Court and of the war, he was in a secret management with another party.

The House of Commons was upon this all in a flame. They saw Popery and slavery lay at the bottom. Yet, that they might not grasp at too much at once, they resolved effectually to break the whole design of Popery. They argued the matter of the Declaration, whether it was according

to law or not. It was plainly an annulling of the Penal Law, made both against Papists and Dissenters. It was said that though the King had a power of pardoning, yet he had not a power to authorize men to break laws. This must infer a power to alter the whole Government. The strength of every law was the penalty laid upon offenders; and if the King could secure offenders by indemnifying them beforehand, it was a vain thing to make laws, since by that maxim they had no force but at the King's discretion.

The House came quickly to a very unanimous resolution that the Declaration was against law. And they set that forth in an address to the King, in which they prayed that it might be called in.

The House was not content with this, but they brought in a Bill disabling all Papists from holding any employment or place at Court, requiring all persons in public trust to receive Sacrament in a parish church, and to make a declaration renouncing Transubstantiation. Great pains was taken by the Court to divert this. They proposed that some regard might be had to Protestant Dissenters, and that their meetings might be allowed. By this means they hoped to have set them and the Church party into new heats; for now all were united against Popery. Love, who was himself a Dissenter, saw what ill effects any such quarrels might have, so he moved that an effectual security might be found against Popery, and that nothing might interpose till that was done. When that was over, then they would try to deserve some favour; but at present they were willing to lie under the severity of the

laws rather than clog a more necessary work with their concerns. The chief friends of the sects agreed to this, so a vote passed to bring in a Bill in favour of Protestant Dissenters, though there was not time enough nor unanimity enough to finish one this session. But this prudent behaviour did so soften the Church party that there was no more votes nor Bills offered at against them, even in that angry Parliament. The Court tried what could be done in the House of Lords. Lord Clifford resolved to assert the Declaration with all the force and all the arguments he could bring for it. When he had done, the Earl of Shaftesbury, to the amazement of the whole House, said he must differ from the lord who spoke last (*toto cælo*). He said, while those matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others that the Supremacy, asserted as it was by law, did warrant the Declaration; but now that such a House of Commons, so loyal and affectionate to the King, were of another mind, he submitted his reasons to theirs. They were the King's great Council. They must both advise and support him; they had done it, and would do it still if their laws and their religion were once secure to them. The King was all in fury to be thus forsaken by his Chancellor, and told Lord Clifford how well he was pleased with his speech, and how highly he was offended with the other.

Soon after this letters came from the French King pressing the King to do all that was necessary to procure money of his Parliament, since he could not bear the charge of the war alone.

As soon as Lord Clifford saw he must lose the

white staff,* he went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had contributed much to the procuring it to him, and told him he brought him the first notice that he was to lose that place, and that he would assist him to procure it to some of his friends. They at last pitched on Sir Thomas Osborn, a gentleman of Yorkshire, whose estate was much sunk. He was a very plausible speaker, but too copious. He had been always among the high Cavaliers. And missing preferment he had opposed the Court much, and was one of Lord Clarendon's bitterest enemies. He gave himself great liberties in discourse, and did not seem to have any regard to truth, so much as to the appearances of it, and was an implacable enemy. He was a positive and undertaking man; so he gave the King great ease by assuring him all things would go according to his mind in the next session of Parliament. By this means he got into the highest degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longest of all that ever served him.

The King now went into new measures. He called for the Declaration, and ordered the seal put to it to be broken. So the Act for the taking the Sacrament and the test against Transubstantiation went on, and together with it an Act of Grace passed, which was desired chiefly to cover the Ministry, who were all very obnoxious by their late actings.

* The badge of the treasurer's office.

Temple's Views.

1683. Temple's 'Memoirs,' Works, i. 384.

At a long audience in his closet I took occasion to reflect upon the late counsels and Ministry of the late Cabal; how ill His Majesty had been advised to break measures and treaties so solemnly taken and agreed;* how ill he had been served, and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out against such proceedings, and by the jealousies they had raised against the Crown. I showed how difficult, if not impossible, it was to set up here the same religion or government that was in *France;* that the universal bent of the nation was against both; that many who were perhaps indifferent enough in the matter of religion consider'd it would not be changed
77 here but by force of an army; and that the same force which made the King master of their religion made him master of their liberties and fortunes too; that if they had an army on foot yet if composed of English they would never serve ends that the people hated and fear'd; that the Roman Catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth, and it seemed against all common-sense to think by one party to govern ninety-nine that were of contrary minds and humours; that I never knew but one foreigner who understood England well, which was Gourville; that when I was at Brussels in the first Dutch war and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said the King had nothing to do but to make the peace; that he had been long enough in England, seen enough of

* The Triple Alliance.

our Court and people and Parliaments, to conclude *that a King of England who will be the man of his people is the greatest King in the world, but if he will be anything more, by God! he is nothing at all.* The King said I had reason in all, and so had Gourville, and, laying his hand upon mine, he added, 'And *I will be the man of my people.*'*

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE WITH THE PRINCESS MARY (1677).

1683. Temple's 'Memoirs,' Works, i. 455.

The Prince, like a hasty lover, came post from Harwich to Newmarket, where the Court then was as a season and place of country sports. He was very kindly received by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into discourses of business, which they wondered to see him avoid or divert industriously, so as the King bid me find out the reason of it. The Prince told me he was resolved
78 to see the young Princess before he entered into the affair, and to proceed in that before the other of the peace.†

The Prince upon his arrival in town and sight of the Princess was so pleased with her person that he immediately made his suit to the King and the Duke, which was very well received and assented to, but with this condition, that the terms of a peace abroad might be first agreed on between them.

* It is supposed that about this time Charles became convinced that the design of introducing Popery was impracticable, and abandoned it.

† That eventually signed at Nimeguen

The Prince said he must end his first business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their opinion, and the Prince resolute in his. My Lord Treasurer [Danby] and I began to doubt the whole business would break upon this punctilio. About that time I chanced to go to the Prince after supper, and found him in the worst humour that I ever saw him. He told me he repented he had ever come into England, and resolved he would stay but two days longer, if the King continued in his mind of treating upon the peace before he was married; but that before he went the King must choose how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest friends or the greatest enemies.

I told the King all the Prince had said. When I had done [he] said: 'Well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks, and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on.' I did so, and the Duke at first seemed a little surprised; but when I had done he said: 'The King shall be obeyed, and I would be glad all his subjects would learn of me to obey him. I do tell him my opinion very freely upon anything; but when that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey him.' From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my story, which he could at first hardly believe, but embraced me and said I had made him a very happy man and very unexpectedly. My Lord Treasurer undertook

to adjust all the rest between the King and the Prince, which he did so well that the match was declared that evening at the committee. Next day it was declared in Council, and received there and everywhere else in the kingdom with the most universal joy that ever I saw anything in the King's reign. The French Ambassador and my Lord Arlington appeared the only two persons unsatisfied upon it at Court, the first not knowing how he should answer it to his master, that an affair of that importance should pass without his commination, much less advice, in a Court where nothing had been done so for many years.*

Fall of Danby (1678)—New Parliament (1679)—Habeas Corpus (1679).

1683. Temple's 'Memoirs,' i. 405

The Lord Shaftesbury, impatient at his fall from so great a share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a game he was forced to give over, had run desperately into the popular humour, both in Parliament and city, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our partiality to France, but most of all against the
79 conduct of the present Ministry; and Lord Arlington was so enraged at the growth of my Lord Treasurer's credit upon the fall of his own that he fell in with the common humour of the Parliament in fomenting those jealousies and practices in the House of Com-

* This was the cause of the French giving leave to Ralph Montague to produce the correspondence with Louis, and so ruin Danby.

mons which, centred in a measure, agreed among the most considerable of them *not to consent to give any money whilst the present Lord Treasurer continued.* Upon these occasions or dispositions they grew very high in pursuing the Lord Lauderdale, the only remainder of the Cabal that had now any credit left at Court. Thus the seeds of discontents that had been sown in the Parliament under the counsels of the Cabal began to spring fast and root deep after their power and influence was wholly at an end; and those heats were under other covers fomented by two of the chief that composed that Ministry, and with help of time and accident grew to such flames as have since appeared.

Ibid., 458.

The constitution of this Parliament, which had sat for seventeen years, was grown into two known factions—that of Court and Country. The Court party were grown numerous by a practice introduced by my Lord Cliford of downright buying off one man after another. The Country party was something greater yet in number, and kept in more credit upon
80 the corruption of others, and their own pretence of steadiness to the true interest of the nation, especially in the points of France and Popery. When these came in question many of the Court party voted with those of the Country, who then carried all before them; but wherever the Court seemed to fall in with the true interests of the nation, especially in these two points, then many of the Country party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court and carried the votes.

1679. 1683. Temple, i. 479.

At my arrival in England, I found the King had dissolved a Parliament that had sat eighteen years, and given great testimonies of loyalty and compliance
81 with His Majesty, till they broke first into heats upon the French alliances, and at last into flames upon the business of the plot. I found a new Parliament was called, and that, to make way for a calmer session, the resolution had been taken for the Duke's going over into Holland.

1681. Temple, 'Memoirs,' Part III., Works, i. 332.

The Short Parliament met with the disputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun, indeed, upon a pique between the Treasurer and Mr. Seymour. This soon ran the
82 House into such violences against my Lord Treasurer as ended in his ruin: first by the King's sudden resolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their pursuits and impeachments; and last, by his lordship's first concealing and then producing himself in the face of the storm, which ended in the Tower.

The Treasonable Letter.

March 25, 1678. *Commons' Journals*, ix. 560

In case the conditions of the peace shall be accepted,* the King expects to have six millions of livres† yearly for three years from the time that this

* Between France and the allies. England had made peace in 1673.

† Livres = francs.

agreement shall be signed betwixt His Majesty and the King of France, because it will be two or three years before he can hope to find his Parliament in a humour to give him supplies after the having made any peace with France; and the Ambassador has agreed to that sum, but not for so long a time.
83 If you find the peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the money at all; and all possible care must be taken to have this whole negotiation as private as possible, for fear of giving offence at home, where for the most part we hear, in ten days after, anything that is communicated to the French Ministers.

Speech of Charles, March 22, 1679.

Howell's State Trials, xi. 725.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I should have been glad to see you had made any good progress in the matters I called you for. I perceive that your proceedings against my Lord Treasurer have hindered you therein. I am therefore now come to put an end to that business, such as I hope will be to your satisfaction. I have given him my pardon under my broad seal, before the calling
84 this Parliament, for the securing both his life and fortunes; and if there should happen to be any defect therein, I will give it him ten times over rather than it should not be full and sufficient. I never denied it to any of my servants or Ministers when they quitted their places, as Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of Buckingham very well know. Besides, I must inform you that there are great mistakes in

those matters concerning him. For the letters were written by my order. And for the concealing the plot, it was impossible, for he had heard nothing of that but what he had immediately from myself. I have dismissed him my court and councils, and not to return. Public business presses hard, and therefore I recommend them to you to go speedily upon them.

[Neither the order of Charles nor the pardon were held to absolve Danby from impeachment and trial. Another question that came up was that as to whether a dissolution freed the prisoner. It was held for a long time not, but in 1684 we have this note :]

Evelyn's Diary.

February 12.—The Earl of Danby, together with
85 the Roman Catholic Lords impeached of high treason in the Popish Plot, had now their *habeas corpus*, and came out upon bail after five years' imprisonment in the Tower.

Passing of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Before 1705. Burnet, i. 485.

The former Parliament had passed a very strict Act for the due execution of the *Habeas Corpus*, which was, indeed, all they did. It was carried by an odd artifice in the House of Lords. Lord Grey
86 and Lord Norris were named to be the tellers. Lord Norris, being a man subject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing ; so, a very fat lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him for ten as a jest at first ; but, seeing Lord Norris had not

observed it, he went on with his misreckoning of ten for one; so it was reported to the House and declared that they who were for the Bill were the majority, though it, indeed, went on the other side; and by this means the Bill passed.

1679. *Luttrell.*

May 27.—His Majesty was pleased to give his
87 royal assent to a Bill for the better securing of the liberty of the subject, and for preventing of imprisonments beyond the seas.

The Popish Plot.

Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

1678. *Luttrell, Narcissus: a Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs.*

September.—About the latter end of this month was a hellish conspiracy contrived and carried on by the Papists, discovered by one Titus Oates, unto
88 Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, justice of peace, who took his examination on oath.

October.—On Saturday, the 12th of this month, was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey missing, and so continued till Thursday morning following, when he was found murdered on Primrose Hill near Hampstead; his
89 stick and gloves set up against the hedge, and his money and watch in his pocket, and his sword sticking in his body, but not bloody (which is an argument he was run through when dead), and he had a livid circle round his neck, as if he had been

strangled. His death caused variety of talk; but that which is most remarkable are the several reports that run about whilst he was missing: that he was gone into the country; that he was at a relation's house in town and lay secret whilst he was courting of a lady. Others reported that he had really killed himself, which the posture he was found in confuted.

1678. *Evelyn's Diary.*

October 1.—The Parliament and the whole nation were alarmed about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discovered by one Oates and Dr. Tongue, which last I knew, being the translator of the 'Jesuites Morals.' I went to see and converse with him at Whitehall with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now returned again with this discovery. He seemed to be a bold man, and in my thoughts furiously indiscreet; but everybody believed what he
90 said, and it quite changed the genius and motions of the Parliament, growing now corrupt and interested with long sitting and Court practices; but with all this Popery would not go down. This discovery turned them all as one man against it, and nothing was done but to find out the depth of this. Oates was encouraged, and everything he affirmed taken for Gospel; the truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceeding bold and busy everywhere, since the Duke forbore to go any longer to the chapel.

October 15.—I never saw the Court more brave, nor the nation in more apprehension and con-

sternation. Coleman* and one Staly† had now been tried, condemned, and executed. On this Oates grew so presumptuous as to accuse the Queen of intending to poison the King. He probably thought to gratify some who would have been glad His Majesty should have married a fruitful lady.‡
91 However, divers of the Popish peers were sent to the Tower, and all the Roman Catholic lords were by a new Act for ever excluded the Parliament,§ which was a mighty blow. The King's, Queen's and Duke's servants were banished, and a test to be taken by everybody who pretended to any office of public trust.

1678. 1683. Temple, 'Memoirs,' Works, i. 479.

We knew very well that both Houses of Parliament believed the plot, that the clergy, the city, the
92 country in general, did so too, or at least pursued it as if they all believed it. We knew the King and some of the Court believed nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that opinion.

1678. 1681. *Ibid.*, iii. 339.

[Halifax] affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, in those
93 points that were so generally believed by city or country as well as by both Houses.

* A Papist accused of conspiracy.

† A Papist.

‡ A royal divorce and new marriage was a project of some who desired to exclude the Duke of York.

§ The Duke of York was excepted by a majority of two.

1683. *James' Memoirs*,* 111.

94 Danby concurred with the faction about the Popish plot to save himself from the storm that was raised against him.

THE STORY OF TITUS OATES.

From the Trial of Lord Stafford.

1679. *State Trials*, iii. 114-116.

MR. TREBY: Call Dr. Oates.

LORD HIGH STEWARD: Do you examine Mr. Oates upon the general plot or the particular?

MR. TREBY: Only to the general now.

DR. OATES: My Lords, in the year '76 I was admitted into the service of the Duke of Norfolk as chaplain in his House. And there came one Kemish, who told me that I should find that the Protestant religion was on its last legs, and that it would
95 become me and all men of my coat to hasten betimes home to the Church of Rome. To satisfy my curiosity, I pretended some doubts in my mind. My Lords, my design was to deal with their casuists—that is, those of the Society.† After that I had obtained the favour to have some conference with one of the Society, I found they were the men for my turn, because I found they were the cunning

* Extracts from the 'Life of James I., written by Himself,' printed in Macpherson's Original Papers, Vol. I.; cited in this work as 'James' Memoirs.'

† Of Jesus

politic men. I pretended to be convinced by their arguments. On Ash Wednesday, 1676, I was reconciled. I did desire to be one of their Society. I was admitted. I went for Valladolid, but by the way I opened certain letters, wherein was made mention of a disturbance designed in Scotland; and the letters did express what hopes they had to effect their design in England for the carrying on of the Catholic cause. My Lords, after I had arrived at Valladolid there were letters there got before me, which were dated in May, wherein was expressed news that the King was despatched, which was the cause of great joy to the Fathers there; and afterwards letters came that they were mistaken, and desired the Fathers to stifle that news. When I came for England, at London I was lodged at one Grigson's, that lived in Drury Lane, near the sign of the Red Lion. I brought these letters to this Strange, and there was Father Keins laying ill upon Strange's bed, and Keins was saying he was mighty sorry for honest William (so they called the ruffian that was to kill the King) that he had missed in his enterprise. But they were not so zealous for the destruction of the King till the King had refused Coleman the dissolving of the Long Parliament. Then they were more intent upon it, though they had several times attempted it ever since the Fire of London. I left England in November. I came to St. Omers. I carried with me a packet of letters from Strange, the provincial and other Fathers, wherein Strange did tell them that they had great hopes of their design taking effect next year, but as yet it could not be effected. He said, therefore, they at London thought

fit to suspend it till they saw what the Parliament would do.

We have now done with year 1677, and we come now to January, 1678.

We received letters out of Ireland, and there, my Lords, we found by the contents of those letters that they were as busy in Ireland as we were in England. We found there that the Talbots and other persons were very zealous in raising of forces, and were resolved to let in the French King, provided that the Parliament should urge the King to break with France. My Lords, in March we received letters that there was a very shrewd attempt made upon the person of the King, and that the flint of Pickering's gun or pistol was loose and his hand shaking; the King did then escape, for which he received a discipline and the others a severe chiding.

L. H. S.: You explain not the meaning of what you say; that was not honest Will, for he, you say, was Grove.

Oates: I mean Pickering received the discipline and William was chid; for it was Pickering's flint that was loose.

My Lords, this was in March, and at the latter end of March there comes a letter from London, in which there was a summons to a consult here in London. We did come to town in April, and there the consult was held. There were letters which did follow us, wherein were proposals made to Sir George Wakeman for the poisoning of the King, and that £10,000 should be proposed to Wakeman to poison the King. Coleman did look upon it as too little. Langham thought it too much, and that he ought to do so

great a piece of service for nothing, and told us he was a narrow-spirited man if he would not engage in such a thing. My Lords, there was £5,000, *as the books told me*, paid; but I did not then see it paid, because I was then ill, and not fit to stir abroad. My Lords, we are now past June, 1678. In July Father Ashby comes to town, who did revive the proposal to Sir George Wakeman. About the 26th of August I find that Fenwick went to St. Omers, and there he was to attend the Provincial home, and to give the Provincial an account of the proposal accepted by Sir George Wakeman; but in July (if your lordships please to give me leave to go back again) Strange comes to town, and falling into discourse about the Fire of London, he very frankly told me how it was fired, and how many of those concerned were seized; and amongst the rest told me that the Duke of York's guard as by his order did receive them, and were afterwards willing to discharge them; which I forgot to mention before; but I do find that it was told me his guard did release the prisoners suspected about the fire, and that all the order they had for it, they pretended was from the Duke. The later part of July I communicated with Dr. Tongue; I desired him to communicate it to some that might make it known to the King. The King had noticed the 13th of August or the 14th, as I remember; and by the 3rd of September I was betrayed, and was exposed to the vengeance of those men whose contrivances I had thus discovered.

From Lord Stafford's Defence.

December 6, 1680. *Ibid.*, iii. 168.

My Lords, I do infer this one thing further, upon what this Dr. Oates tells you; he did seemingly profess himself of the Catholic religion, and I do stand upon it that hereupon he is no competent witness. For he being of the Church of England (for I think he professes himself so and wears that habit), I say any man, let him be who he will, Church of England man or other, that shall pretend himself to be a Papist, for what end soever it may be, and dissembles with God Almighty, which he must do to a great height in receiving the Sacrament, which is by your lordships and the House of Commons declared to be gross idolatry, is not easily to be esteemed a witness. I appeal to your lordships
96 whether such a fellow that will abhor his religion, let him do it for any ends in the world, be a man to be credited; and especially engaging in such a way to such an height in that which his conscience tells him is idolatrous is not a perjured fellow and no competent witness? no Christian but a devil, and a witness for the devil. And I appeal to the whole Christian world, if a Protestant of the Church of England should come to be a servant to a Catholic, and pretend himself a Papist and were not so, whether he were fit to be countenanced. . . . For this man truly I shall say no more; I think I have said enough to make him appear a person not fit to be believed.

[Evelyn says of this argument, 'It did exceedingly affect me. Verily I am of his lordship's opinion; such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog.']

Ibid., iii. 187, 188.

The first witness swore I was at a consult at Tixall in the end of August or the beginning of September: I have sufficiently proved that in all August I was not there, nor till the 12th of September. I have proved that his first oath was I was there in August, and a man that will swear false in one thing is not to be credited in any. . . . 'Tis proved by two witnesses, Holt and Morral, that he offered them money to swear, as likewise he did to another, one Robinson. I suppose it is also clear by my witnesses that Dugdale is a man of no reputation, having forsworn himself in several particulars; and I submit the truth of all he says to your lordships.

The next witness, my Lords, is Mr. Oates. Mr. Oates all along before swore only that he believed I
97 was in the plot: now he swears that I was in it, at Mr. Fenwick's chamber, a man I never saw in my life. And that he saw letters subscribed by my name; but that, my Lords, I conceive is no evidence at all, for he never saw me write, nor does know my hand, nor does he pretend to know me then; and when he had told your lordships he had a letter of mine, he pretended to look for it, and then said he had lost it. But besides, my Lords, his evidence now does not agree with his former: for I do appeal to your lordships that he swore the first time he only saw my name to letters: afterwards he swore (that is, some days after he had ended his evidence) a commission he saw delivered to me; so his memory increases, as he hath time to invent, and perhaps by another time it might be much more. But, my

Lords, I think that one particular his swearing before your lordships, as it is entered in your Journal, that he had no more to say against anybody, and afterwards naming the Queen, and now to me to have a commission, I conceive, is perfect perjury.

The last witness, my Lords, is Turberville, and he says in the year '75 he often discoursed alone with me for a fortnight together in Paris. My servants, he owns, he never saw them, and how he could come for a fortnight together, and not see my servants, I refer it to your lordships' consideration whether it be possible. This gentleman very civilly the next day, after he had made an *affidavit* against me, would needs mend it. Now I humbly conceive, my Lords, a man that swears one thing to-day which he forswears to-morrow is not to be believed. . . . My Lords, there is one witness more, John Porter, that swears to your lordships this one thing, that this Turberville swore to him at such an ale-house, he knew nothing of the plot. And then there is Mr. Yolden, he said in his company there was no trade good but a *discoverer*;* 'God damn the Duke of York, Monmouth, Plot and all, for I know nothing of it.' Truly, my Lords, whether he got money by it or no, is known since he hath been a discoverer, telling what he knew not so many months ago; and therefore I submit it to your lordships what he is. My Lords, I submit myself to your lordships. And I beseech your lordships to consider that one thing against Dr. Oates, his dissembling with God Almighty, and his impudent owning of it. This I do insist upon; and I protest before God Almighty,

* Informer.

if I were a judge, I would not hang a dog upon such evidence.

1679. *James' Memoirs*, i. 93.

98 When Sir George Wakeman was acquitted, people's eyes began to open.

1683. *Evelyn.*

June. — The Popish plot, which had hitherto
99 made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle through the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates, so as the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever.

1685. *Ibid.*

May 22 [reign of James II.].—The Popish lords, who had been some time before released from their confinement about the Plot, were now discharged of their impeachment. Oates, who had but two days before been pilloried at several places and
100 whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day placed on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragged from prison to Tyburn, and whipped again all the way, which some thought to be very severe and extraordinary; but if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of so many innocents, his punishment was but what he deserved. A strange revolution!

Monmouth and the Covenanters.

1679. *Luttrell.*

May, 1679.—From Edinburgh, Scotland, we are advised of a horrid murther committed on the person

of the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of the said kingdom.

Bothwell Bridge (1679).

Before 1705. Burnet, i. 472.

The country was left in their hands, and if there had been any designs or preparations made formerly for a rebellion, now they had time enough to run together and to form themselves; but it appeared that there had been no such designs by this, that none came into it but these desperate men, who were, as it were, hunted from their houses into all those extravagances that men may fall in who wander about inflaming one another. The rebels, having the country left to their discretion, fancied that their numbers would quickly increase; and they set out a sort of manifesto, complaining of the oppressions they lay under, and asserting the obligation of the Covenant; and they concluded it with the demand of a free Parliament. When the news of this came to Court, Duke Lauderdale said, it was the effect of the encouragement that they had from the King's hearkening to their complaints; whereas all indifferent men thought it was rather to be imputed to his insolence and tyranny.

The King resolved to lose no time, so he sent the Duke of Monmouth down first, and with full powers to command in chief. . . . They [the rebels] fixed at Hamilton, which is near a bridge on Clyde, which it was believed they intended to defend, but they took no care of it. They sent some to treat with the Duke of Monmouth. He

answered that if they would submit to the King's mercy, and lay down their arms, he would inter-

DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

pose for their pardon, but that he would not treat with them so long as they were in arms. Some

were beginning to press their rendering themselves at discretion. They had neither the grace to submit, nor the sense to march away, nor the courage to fight it out, and suffered the Duke of Monmouth to make himself master of the bridge. They were then 4,000 men, but few of them were well armed. If they had charged those that came first over the bridge, they might have had some advantage; but they looked on like men that had lost both sense and courage, and upon the first charge they threw down their arms and ran away. There was between 200 and 300 killed, and 1,200 taken prisoners. The Duke of Monmouth stopped the execution that his men were making as soon as he could, and saved the prisoners; for some moved that they should be all killed on the spot. Yet this was afterwards objected to him as a neglect of the King's service, and as a courting the people. The Duke of York talked of it in that strain, and the King himself said to him that if he had been there they should not have had the trouble of prisoners. He answered he could not kill men in cold blood; that was work only for butchers. Duke Lauderdale's creatures pressed the keeping the army some time in that country on design to have eat it up. But the Duke of Monmouth sent home the militia, and put the troops under discipline, so that all that country was sensible he had preserved them from ruin. The very fanatical party confessed that he treated them as gently as was possible, considering their madness. He came back to Court, and moved the King to grant an indemnity for what was past, and a liberty to hold meetings under the King's license

by connivance; he showed the King that all this madness of field conventicles flowed only from the severity against those that are held indoors.

Thus ended this tumultuous rebellion, which went by the name of Bothwell Bridge, where the meeting was. The King soon after sent down orders for allowing meeting-houses; but the Duke of Monmouth's interest sunk so soon after this that these were scarce opened when they were shut up again. Their enemies said this looked like rewarding them for their rebellion.

'Ballads of Scotland,' ii. 318-321,
Edited by W. E. Aytoun.

'O Billie, billie, bonny billie,
Will ye go to the wood wi' me?
We'll ca' our horse hame masterless,
An' gar them trow slain men are we.'

'O no, O no!' says Earlstoun,
'For that's the King that mauna be;
103 For I am sworn to Bothwell Hill,
Where I maun either gae or die.'

'Now farewell, father, and farewell, mother,
An' fare ye well, my sisters three;
An' fare ye well, my Earlstoun,
For thee again I'll never see!'

So they're awa to Bothwell Hill,
An' waly they rode bonnilie!
When the Duke o' Monmouth saw them comin',
He went to view their companie.

'Ye're welcome, lads,' then Monmouth said,
'Ye're welcome, brave Scots lads, to me;
And sae are ye, brave Earlstoun,
The foremost o' your companie!

'But yield your weapons ane an' a';
O yield your weapons, lads, to me;
For gin ye'll yield your weapons up,
Ye'se a' gae hame to your countrie.'

Out up then spake a Lennox lad,
And waly but he spake bonnilie!
'I winna yield my weapons up
To you nor nae man that I see.'

They stell'd their cannons on the height,
And showr'd their shot down in the howe;
An' beat our Scots lads even down,
Thick they lay slain on every knowe.

As e'er you saw the rain down fa'
Or get the arrow frae the bow,—
Sae our Scottish lads fell even down,
And they lay slain on every knowe.

'O hold your hand!' then Monmouth cry'd,
'Gie quarters to yon men for me!'
But wicked Claver'se swore an oath,
His cornet's death revenged should be

'O hold your hand!' then Monmouth cry'd,
'If ony thing you'll do for me;
Hold up your hand, you cursed Graeme,
Else a rebel to our King ye'll be.'

Then wicked Claver'se turned about,
I wot an angry man was he;
And he has lifted up his hat,
And cry'd, 'God bless his Majesty!'

Then he's awa to London town,
Ay, e'en as fast as he can dree;
Fause witnesses he has wi' him ta'en,
An' ta'en Monmouth's head frae his bodie.

Alang the brae, beyond the brig,
Mony brave men lie cauld and still;
But lang we'll mind, and sair we'll rue,
The bloody battle of Bothwell Hill.

1681. Temple's 'Memoirs,' Works, i. 340.

The Duke of Monmouth went into Scotland; succeeded; took the body of rebels; suppressed absolutely the rebellion; ordered the punishment of some;
104 gave pardon to the rest; returned in triumph; was received with great applauses and court from all; and with great appearance of kindness and credit by the King.

The Exclusion Bill (1679-81).

1679. *James' Memoirs*, 95.

September, 1679.—It was now necessary to prepare for the meeting of Parliament. So Sunderland,
105 Essex, Halifax, Hyde, and Godolphin thought it proper that the Duke should return to Flanders, on condition that Monmouth was sent out of England.

The commission of General of Scotland and England taken from him [Monmouth], and he himself sent away.

1681. Temple, i. 236.

Both Houses of Parliament seemed to have no eyes but for the dangers of Popery upon the Duke's succession to the Crown, which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The King seemed willing to secure them all that would be against these fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. The House of Commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none, being still diverted from fixing on any by Lord Shaftesbury's practices. The Council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour, and after much hammering agreed upon many heads to be offered to Parliament. These ex-
6 pedients were agreed to by all the Council except my Lord Shaftesbury and me, who were against them upon very different grounds. Mine were two: first, because I believed that nothing that came first from the King would be accepted; the second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the King, though agreed to by both Houses; so it was evident to all men that they would leave the Crown after him in shackles. My Lord Shaftesbury's ground was plain; which was that there could be no security against the Duke if once in possession of the Crown. This being well infused by his and the Duke of Monmouth's friends into the House of Commons occasioned their sullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the King.

Within a fortnight or little more they began to find the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons to endeavour bringing the King into necessities of yielding all points to them, thereby leaving the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the Parliament as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them. So we agreed to propose it to His Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at Council. In this resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after.

I stayed my two days [in the country] and [on returning] I went to Lord Essex and asked whether anything new had happened. He told me that the King had found out there were remonstrances ready prepared in the House of Commons to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and Popery, and that their three lordships [Halifax, Essex and Sunderland] having upon it consulted with His Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be prorogued that morning upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of Council; which for my part I thought an ill omission. But it passed otherwise and with very great resentment of both Houses, and such rage of my Lord Shaftesbury that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the heads of those who were the advisers of this prorogation.

1679. *Luttrell*, i. 18, 19.

On the 12th came out a proclamation here dissolving this present Parliament, and the calling one to meet the 17th of October next.

In order to qualify elections, orders were sent
07 down to all boroughs that they put the Corporation Act strictly in execution*; whereby many Dissenters were turned out of their places of magistrates, and others better inclined were put in.

1679. 1681. Temple, i. 345, 346.

October came on, when the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in Flanders, the Duke of Monmouth in Holland. Lord Shaftesbury endeavoured to inflame the reckoning of the late conduct and counsels against the sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot petitions in case they did not sit. The Ministers were not able to stand the opening of the Parliament, and so a short prorogation was expected some days before that
08 appointed for their assembly. . . . We went to Council; the King told us that upon many considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament; that he had considered all the consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear anything that should be said against it. All at Council were stunned at this surprising resolution, and the way of proposing it, except those few that were in the secret, and they thought fit to be silent.

* Breaches of the persecuting statutes were often connived at during the seventeenth century.

1679. *Luttrell*, i. 23.

The 15th [Oct.] in Council, His Majesty ordered
109 a Commission for the proroguing the Parliament, and was then pleased to remove the Earl of Shaftesbury from the place of President of his Council.

1679, 1680. 1681. Temple, i 349, 350.

From what seeds the discontents and violent proceedings of this last session grew, I have told already; but by what motives and degrees they came to such a height is another story, and may have had some roots which I did not discover; but what I observed was this. After the Duke's return into Flanders, he had the King's leave to come over again in some few months. The Duke of Monmouth came back out of Holland without leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seemed to make himself the head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's return or the intermission of Parliament. In acting
110 this part he was guided by Lord Shaftesbury, who was resolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this summer; so as to make the necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed; and because boldness looks like strength, he engaged several lords, and among them Lord Russell, to go with him to Westminster Hall publicly, and there at the King's Bench to present the Duke as a recusant. Though the matter had no consequences in the forms of the Court, yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a strong one upon the passions of all those persons that were so publicly engaged in this bold pace against the Duke, which was breaking

all measures with him, and entering into the desperate resolution of either ruining His Highness or themselves; and I found it had a great effect upon the small circle of my acquaintance or observation.

Evelyn.

November 28, 1679.—Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland unexpectedly to His Majesty, whilst the Duke of York was on his journey to Scotland, whither the King sent him to reside and
11 govern.* The bells and bonfires of the city at this arrival of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy, to the no small regret of some at the Court. This Duke, whom for distinction they called this Protestant Duke, the people made their idol.

1679. *Luttrell*, i. 30.

The King hath been pleased to revoke his letters
12 patent, constituting the Duke of Monmouth Master of the Horse.

Ibid., i. 28, 30.

December 12, 1679.—Came out another proclamation against tumultuous and seditious petitions, as contrary to the known and common laws of the
13 land. . . . Several persons have promoted petitions for the sitting of Parliament; which were dashed again at the coming out of the proclamations, but are now carried on more earnestly than before.

* The object of Halifax was to keep both Dukes at a distance from Court, so as to escape the danger from the party of Shaftesbury, and also from the Papists.

Luttrell, i. 43.

May, 1680.—There have been several addresses
114 or declarations against petitioning offered to His Majesty.*

1680. Temple, i. 350.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began with the general knowledge of so many great persons having appeared so publicly against His Highness in Westminster Hall, and so considerable ones in the Court itself and at the Council table. Those of the first gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Exclusion. The generality of the House of Commons were carried partly with the plausibleness of the thing,
115 calculated in appearance only against Popery. All the Duke of Monmouth's friends drove it on so violently, not doubting he would lie in the Duke's place, though no provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught; and all these circumstances made so violent a torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could resist or any ways divert; and, as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition made by two or three men made the violence the greater.

James' Memoirs, i. 108.

November 15, 1680.—Lord Russell brought up the Bill of Exclusion. When he had read the title,
116 there was a great shout at the bar. Halifax spoke incomparably, and bore the burden of the day in Committee. He answered Shaftesbury and Essex as

* Hence the distinction, Petitioners and Abhorrers.

oft as they spoke. He spoke at least sixteen times, letting slip no good occasion. His reasons were so strong that they convinced everybody that was not resolved not to hear.

Yet he proposed next day a Bill of Banishment, that the Duke should not come near the King's person as long as he lived. Shaftesbury and his party turned it into ridicule. The Duke's friends said nothing, and it fell. Shaftesbury said no expedient would serve but marrying the King to a Protestant wife and divorcing the Queen. For rejecting the Bill of Exclusion, 49 Lords and 14 Bishops—63; for passing it, 30.

In the House of Commons, for an address to remove Halifax, 219; against it, 95.

1680. 1681. Temple, i. 351.

This enraged the House of Commons, and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons—engage first in the
17 pursuit of Lord Stafford to the block upon the score of the plot, and then in addresses either upon general discontents in the public affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

James' Memoirs, i. 109, 110.

November 11, 1680.—A Bill of Limitation in the House of Lords. The Duke to be banished for the King's life to some place 500 miles from England.
18 In case of his accession, that the whole power of government should be vested in a Council of forty-one.

James' Memoirs, 113.

January, 1681.—The Parliament impeach the
119 Duke's friends. The King prorogues them. One to meet at Oxford on the twenty-first of March.

Ibid., 114.

The King to prepare for the Oxford Parliament. Had some guards with him, and quartered the best
120 part of Oxford's regiment on the road to serve his return. He left a body to secure the city.

Ibid., 117.

March 28.—The House of Commons, not better composed than the last, resolved at some of their cabals to begin with the Bill of Exclusion. The House, being enraged, ordered in the Bill of Exclusion on Saturday night. It was read the first time on Monday, and ordered a second reading, when the King, to their great surprise, appeared in his robes. The Lords, ignorant of it, had not theirs. He dis-
121 solved them, took coach immediately, and went that night to Windsor. This struck them, like thunder, with confusion and amazement. It gave the King great reputation. His friends took courage. The faction were in the greatest rage and despair. The King still would not let the Duke of York return till he saw how matters went, and till he had reformed the lieutenancy of the city, the justices of the peace, and the militia throughout the kingdom.

Shaftesbury.

Dryden, '*Absalom and Achitophel*,' Part I., 146 *sqq*

Of these the false Achitophel* was first;
A name to all succeeding ages curst:
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit;
Restless, unfixed in principles and place;
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
A fiery soul, which, worketh out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
A daring pilot in extremity;
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high
He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit.
122 Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide;
Else why should he, with wealth and honour blest,
Refuse his age the needful hours of rest?
Punish a body which he could not please;
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?
In friendship false, implacable in hate;
Resolved to ruin or to rule the State.
To compass this the triple bond† he broke;
The pillars of the public safety shook;
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;‡
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
Usurped a patriot's all-atoning name.
So easy still it proves in factious times
With public zeal to cancel private crimes.

* Shaftesbury. † The Triple Alliance. ‡ French.

How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
Where none can sin against the people's will!
Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
Since in another's guilt they find their own!

ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
In Israel's courts ne'er sat Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,

Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress;
Swift of despatch, and easy of access.
Oh! had he been content to serve the Crown,
With virtues, only proper to the gown;
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
From Cockle, that oppressed the noble seed;
David for him his tuneful harp had strung,
And heaven had wanted one immortal song.
But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,
And fortune's ice prefers to virtue's land.
Achitophel, grown weary to possess
A lawful fame, and lazy happiness,
Disdained the golden fruit to gather free,
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.
Now manifest of crimes contrived long since,
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince;
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the Crown, and skulked behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the plot he takes,
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.*
Achitophel still wants a chief, and none
Was found so fit as warlike Absalom.†
Not that he wished his greatness to create,
For politicians neither love nor hate;
But, for he knew his title not allowed
Would keep him still depending on the crowd;
That kingly power, thus ebbing out, might be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.

* Papist. † Monmouth.

Him he attempts with studied arts to please,
And sheds his venom in such words as these:
'Tis true he* grants the people all they crave,
And more, perhaps, than subjects ought to have.
But when should people strive their bonds to break,
If not when Kings are negligent or weak?
Let him give on till he can give no more;
The thrifty Sanhedrim† shall keep him poor.
And every shekel which he can receive
Shall cost a limb of his prerogative.
To ply him with new plots shall be my care,
Or plunge him deep in some expensive war;
Which, when his treasure can no more supply,
He must with the remains of kingship buy
His faithful friends, our jealousies and fears
Call Jebusites,‡ and Pharaoh's§ pensioners;
Whom when our fury from his aid has torn,
He shall be naked left to public scorn.
The next successor, whom I fear and hate,
My arts have made obnoxious to the State;
Turned all his virtues to his overthrow,
And gained our elders to pronounce a foe.
His right, for sums of necessary gold,
Shall first be pawned and afterwards be sold;
Till time shall ever-wanting David‖ draw
To pass your doubtful title into law.
If not, the people have a right supreme
To make their Kings; for Kings are made for them.
All empire is no more than power in trust,
Which, when resumed, can be no longer just.

* Charles. † Parliament. ‡ Papists.
§ Louis'. ‖ Charles.

Succession, for the general good designed,
In its own wrong a nation cannot bind;
If altering that the people can relieve,
Better one suffer than a nation grieve.
The Jews well know their power; ere Saul* they chose,
God was their King,† and God they durst depose.

Reaction.

1681. *James' Memoirs*, 124.

The King's necessities forced him to a private treaty with France; fifty thousand pounds a quarter were the terms, and the first payment to be at the end
123 of June, 1681, without any condition on the King's part but that of friendship.

The Duke of York comes to Court by the Duchess of Portsmouth's means. Shaftesbury sent to the Tower.

Ibid, 129.

November 26.—This night there were bonfires on Shaftesbury's being acquitted by an ignoramus jury.‡
124 *Quo Warranto* brought against the City Charter, which pleases all good men there.

1683. *Evelyn.*

June 18, 1683.—I was present and saw and heard
125 the humble submission and petition of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen on behalf of the City

* Cromwell. † This refers to the Puritan theocracy.
‡ The grand jury, by an *ignoramus* of the charge refused to send Shaftesbury for trial.

of London, on the *Quo Warranto* against their charter. It was delivered keeling. My Lord Keeper made a speech to them exaggerating the disorderly and riotous behaviour in the late election, with other misdemeanours, libels on the Government by which they had incurred His Majesty's high displeasure; and that but for this submission, under such articles as the King should require their obedience to, he would certainly enter judgment against them. The things required were as follows: That they should neither elect Mayor, Sheriff, etc., without His Majesty's approbation; that if they presented any His Majesty did not like they should proceed in wonted manner to a second choice; and if within five days they thought good to assent to this, all former miscarriages could be forgotten. And so they tamely parted with their ancient privileges. This was a signal and most remarkable period. What the correspondences will prove time will show. Divers of the old and most learned lawyers and judges were of opinion that they could not forfeit their charter; but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men thought otherwise.

Ibid.

October 4.—I went to London on receiving a note from the Countess of Arlington of some considerable charge or advantage I might obtain by applying myself to His Majesty on this signal conjuncture of
126 His Majesty entering up judgment against the City Charter. The proposal made me I wholly declined, not being well satisfied with these violent transactions, and not a little sorry that His Majesty was so often

put upon things of this nature against so great a city, the consequences whereof may be so much to his prejudice. At this time the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton was displaced. He was held to be the most learned of the judges and an honest man. Sir George Jefferies was advanced, reputed to be most gnorant, but most daring. Sir George Treby, Recorder of London, was also put by, and one Jenner, an obscure lawyer, set in his place. Eight of the richest and chief Aldermen were removed, and all the rest made only justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gowns or chains of gold. The Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants, as *Custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pomp and grandeur of the most august city in the world thus changed face in a moment, which gave great occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.

The Rye House Plot.

Reresby's 'Memoirs,' 279, 280.

June 26, 1683.—Came the report of a dangerous conspiracy against the life of our sovereign lord the King, laid by the anti-Court party, composed of such as had been disappointed of preferments at Court
127 and of Protestant Dissenters. It was also against the Duke of York, and intended to have shot the King and the Duke coming from Newmarket in their coach, the certain day of his return being known by forty men well armed, who, after the blow given,

were to fly to London, and to report that the Papists had done it. In London there were a body of men ready to rise to make themselves masters of the City and Tower, and consequently of the whole kingdom, the Prince of Orange being in Holland (the next right heir to the Crown), and the Duke of Monmouth being ready to head the rebels. This was most miraculously prevented by a fire happening at New market, which, burning down a great part of the town, caused the King's departure from thence ten days sooner. It was afterwards designed against the King and the Duke as they came from Hampton Court, which was also disappointed by the Duke's not coming with the King, their design being either to kill both or neither. This and the like disappointments put it into the head of one of the melancholy conspirators that God was against them in this design, which disposed him to go and reveal it, as he did accordingly. Upon this several of the contrivers fled, as the Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Grey, who made his escape before being taken. Sir Thomas Armstrong and many of them were taken and committed to the Tower, as the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Russell, and many others.

1683. *James Memoirs*, i. 137.

1683.—The Rye House conspiracy discovered, being the last effort of malice to the King and the Duke of York. An accident of fire at Newmarket prevented
128 it. It was discovered about the end of Trinity term by Keeling. Shaftesbury said they were too few to do the work, and too many to conceal it. So on

the 19th November he went to Holland, pretending no longer to *walk the King out of the kingdom*, as he arrogantly expressed it. Walcot and Ferguson soon returned to join with Monmouth, Essex, Russell, Algernon Sidney, etc.; 4,000 men were said to be engaged in this insurrection. The King was slow in crediting it; but the Duke of Monmouth at last confessed it. He was banished from Court, and retired abroad to Zealand.

Evelyn.

July 13.—Some were said to be for killing the King, others for only seizing on him and persuading him to new counsels. The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplored, few believing they had any evil intention against the King or the Church. For my part, I believe the crafty and ambitious Earl of Shaftesbury had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any design of destroying the monarchy (which
29 Shaftesbury has in confidence and for unanswerable reasons told me he would support to his last breath, as having seen and felt the misery of being under mechanic tyranny), but perhaps of setting up some other whom he might govern and frame to his own platonic fancy. But when he perceived those whom he had engaged to rise fail of his expectations, he gave them the slip and got into Holland, where the fox died three months before these unhappy lords and others were discovered or suspected.

Trial of Algernon Sidney.

1683. *Cobbett's State Trials*, ix. 855-858.

[These passages from Sidney's writings are given here as representing to a certain extent the Whig theory of politics.]

Bracton saith that the King hath three superiors, to wit, 'Deum, Legem, et Parliament'—that is, the power originally in the people of England is delegated unto the Parliament. He is subject to the law of

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

God, as he is a man; to the people that makes him a King, inasmuch as he is a King; the law sets a measure unto that subjection; and the Parliament judges of the particular cases thereupon arising. He must be content to submit his interest unto theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any

other respect than that he is, by the consent of all, raised above any other. If he doth not like this condition, he may renounce the Crown; but if he receive it upon that condition (as all magistrates do the power they receive), and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted or revenge taken by those that he hath betrayed. . . .

In all the revolutions we have had in England, the people have been headed by the Parliament or the nobility and gentry that composed it, and when the Kings failed of their duties by their own authority called it. The multitude, therefore, is not ever headless, but doth either find or create heads unto itself as occasion doth require; and whether it be one man or a few or more, for a short or a longer time, we see nothing more regular than its motions. But they may, saith our author,* shake off the yoke; and why may they not if it prove uneasy or hurtful unto them? Why should not the Israelites shake off the yoke of Pharaoh, Jabin, Sisera, and others that oppressed them? When pride had changed Nebuchadnezzar into a beast, what should persuade the Assyrians not to drive him out amongst beasts until God had restored unto him the heart of a man? When Tarquin had turned the regal monarchy of Rome into a most abominable tyranny, why should they not abolish it? And when the Protestants of the Low Countries were so grievously oppressed by the power of Spain under the proud, cruel, and savage conduct of the Duke of Alva, why should they not make use of the means that God had put into their hands for their deliverance? . . . The general revolt

* Sidney is attacking Filmer.

of a nation from its own magistrates can never be called rebellion. . . . The power of calling and dissolving Parliament is not in the King.*

Cobbett's State Trials, ix. 868.

SIDNEY: Will you, my lord, indict a man for treason for scraps of paper found in his house, relating to an ancient paper, intending as innocently as anything in the world, and piece and patch this to my Lord Howard's discourse to make this a contrivance to kill the King? Then, my lord, I think 'tis a right of mankind, and 'tis exercised by all studious men, that they write in their own closets what they please for their own memory, and no man can be answerable for it, unless they publish it.

L. C. J. [JEFFREYS]: Pray do not go away with that right of mankind, that it is lawful for me to
131 write what I will in my own closet unless I publish it. I have been told, Curse not the King, not in thy thoughts, not in thy bedchamber; the birds of the air will carry it. I took it to be the duty of mankind to observe that.

SIDNEY: I have lived under the Inquisition——

L. C. J.: God be thanked we are governed by law.

SIDNEY: I have lived under the Inquisition, and there is no man in Spain can be tried for heresy ——

JUSTICE WITHINS: Draw no precedents from the Inquisition, I beseech you, sir.

L. C. J.: We must not endure men to talk that by

* These passages come from Sidney's 'Discourses on Government,' and were allowed as evidence.

the right of Nature every man may contrive mischief in his own chamber, and he is not to be punished, till he thinks fit to be called to it.

Sidney's Petition to the King.

Cobbett's State Trials, ix. 904-906.

November 21 he [A. S.] was brought to his trial; and the indictment being perplexed and confused, so that neither he nor any of his friends could fully comprehend the scope of it, he was utterly unprovided of all the helps that *the law alloweth* unto every man for his defence; whereupon he again desired a copy, and produced an authentic copy of the statute, Edward III., whereby it is enacted that every man shall have a copy of any record that toucheth him in any manner; but could have neither a copy of his indictment, nor that the statute should be read. The
132 jury was not summoned in the *usual and legal manner*. When they came to be called, he excepted against some for being your Majesty's servants; many others for not being freeholders (which exceptions, he thinks, are good in law), and others more lewd and infamous persons, not fit to be of any jury; but all was overruled by the Lord Chief Justice. No witness was produced who fixed anything beyond hearsay upon your petitioner, except the Lord Howard, and those that swore to some papers said to be found in his house, and offered as a second witness. . . . Eight or nine important points of law did hereupon arise, upon which your petitioner, knowing his weakness, did desire his counsel might be heard; but all was

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overruled by the violence of the lord chief justice, and your petitioner so frequently interrupted, that the whole method of his defence was broken, and he not suffered to say the tenth part of what he would have acknowledged in his own defence; so the jury was hurried into a verdict which they did not understand.*

Death of the King.

1685. *James*, i. 142.

On the 2nd of February the King was seized with a fit of apoplexy; the Bishop of Bath and another Bishop, who read the visitation of the sick when he was despaired of. The King saying that he repented of his sins, the Bishops read absolution to him. The
133 Duke of York proposed sending for a priest to him to Court Castelmellor; but none being found, Hudleston was brought up the backstairs to the private closet. Hudleston gave him the Extreme Unction and Sacrament. The company were then called in, and he died between 11 and 12 on Friday morning, the 6th of February, 1685.

Evelyn.

February 4, 1685.—I went to London hearing His Majesty had been the Monday before surprised in his bedchamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if by God's
134 providence Dr. King had not been present to let him blood, His Majesty had certainly died that moment, which might have been of direful consequence, there

* This is a very fair specimen of the seventeenth-century notion of justice in a State trial on all sides.

being nobody else present with the King save this doctor and one more, I am assured. This revived His Majesty for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupped, which so relieved him that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public *Gazette*, but that day about noon the physicians thought him feverish. This they seemed glad of, as being more easily allayed and methodically dealt with than his former fits; so as they prescribed the famous Jesuits' powder [quinine?], but it made him worse, and some very able doctors, who were present, did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations used by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his fits, which now made him very weak. Thus he passed Thursday night with great difficulty, when, complaining of a pain in his side, they drew 12 ounces more of blood from him; this was by six in the morning on Friday, and it gave him relief, but it did not continue, for being now in much pain and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and after some conflicts the physicians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at half an hour after eleven in the morning, being 6th February, 1685, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign and the fifty-fourth of his age.

1685. Before 1705. Burnet, i. 608.

He gathered all his strength to speak his last words
35 to the Duke, to which everyone hearkened with great

attention. He expressed his kindness to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to him. He said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last, and besought the Duke, in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and to her son. He recommended his other children to him, and concluded, 'Let not poor Nelly starve;' that was Mrs. Gwyn. But he said nothing of the Queen,* nor any one of his people or of his servants, nor did he speak one word of religion or concerning the payment of his debts, though he left behind him about 90,000 guineas.

Character of Charles.

1750. From 'The Character of King Charles II.,' by George Savile, first Marquis of Halifax.

This Prince at his first entrance into the world had adversity for his introducer, which is generally thought to be no ill one; but in his case it proved so, and laid the foundation of most of those misfortunes or errors that were the causes of the great objections made to him.

136 The ill-bred familiarity of the Scotch divines had given him a distaste of that part of the Protestant religion. The company, the men in his pleasures, and the arguments of State, did so loosen and untie him from his first impressions, that I take it for granted for the first year or two he was no more a

* But *cf.* Evelyn: 'He entreated the Queen to pardon him, not without cause.'

Protestant. . . . I conclude that when he came into England he was as certainly a Roman Catholic as that he was a man of pleasure. His unwillingness to marry a Protestant was remarkable. Very early in his youth, when any German Princess was proposed, he put off the discourse with raillery. A thousand little circumstances were a kind of cumulative evidence. Men that were earnest Protestants were under the sharpness of his displeasure. He had sicknesses *before* his death, in which he did not trouble any Protestant divines; those who saw him on his death-bed saw a great deal. One great objection made to him was the concealing himself and disguising his thoughts. In this there ought a latitude to be given; it is a defect not to have it at all, and a fault to have it too much. In France he was to dissemble injuries and neglects from one reason; in England he was to dissemble, too, though for other causes. No King can be so little inclined to dissemble but he must needs learn it from his subjects, who every day give him such lessons of it. Princes dissemble with too many not to have it discovered. No wonder, then, that he carried it so far that it was discovered. Those who knew his face fixed their eyes there, and thought it of more importance to see than to hear what he said. It may be said that his inclinations to love were the effects of health and a good constitution with as little mixture of the *seraphic* part as ever man had, and though from that foundation men often raise their passions, I am apt to think his stayed as much as any man's ever did in the lower region. After he was restored mistresses were recommended to him. It was resolved

generally by others whom he should have in his arms as well as whom he should have in his counsels. Of a man so capable of choosing, he chose as seldom as any man that ever lived. He was said to be as little constant as they were thought to be. . . . In these hours where he was more unguarded, no doubt the cunning men of the Court took their time to make their observations, and there is little doubt but he made his upon them, too; where men had chinks, he would see through them as soon as any man about him. There was much more real business done there in his politic than in his personal capacity, and there was the French part of the Government, which was not the least. His was not an unthinkingness; he did not, perhaps, think so much of his subjects as they might wish, but he was far from being wanting to think of himself.

He lived with his Ministers as he did with his mistresses: he used them, but he was not in love with them. He was free of access to them, which was a very gaining quality. He had at least as good a memory for the faults of his Ministers as for their services; and whenever they fell, the whole inventory came out—there was not a slip omitted. That some of his Ministers seemed to have a superiority did not spring from his resignation to them but to his ease. He chose rather to be eclipsed than to be troubled.

His brother was a Minister, and he had his jealousies of him. At the same time that he raised him, he was not displeased to have him lessened.

His wit consisted chiefly in the quickness of his apprehension. By his being abroad, he contracted

a habit of conversing familiarly, which, added to his natural genius, made him very apt to talk —perhaps more than a very nice judgment would approve. His wit was not acquired by reading; that which he had above his original stock by nature was from company in which he was very capable to observe. His affability was a part, and perhaps not the least, of his wit. There was at first as much of art as of nature in his affability, but by habit it became natural. He was so good at finding out other men's weak sides that it made him less intent to cure his own.

He had a mechanical head, which appeared in his inclination to shipping and fortification, etc. He had a very good memory, though he could not always make equal good use of it. His chain of memory was longer than his chain of thought—the first could bear any burden, the other was tired by being carried on too long; it was fit to ride a heat, but it had not wind enough for a long course. He was often retained in his personal against his politic capacity. Charles Stuart could be bribed against the King, and in the distinction he feared more to his natural self than his character would allow. The power of nature was too strong for the dignity of his calling, which generally yielded as often as there was contest. It was not the best use he made of his backstairs to admit men to bribe him against himself, to procure a defalcation, help a lame accountant to get off, or side with the farmers against the improvement of the revenue.

The King was made the instrument to defraud the Crown. He could not properly be said to be either

covetous or liberal; his desire to get was not with an intention to be rich, and his spending was rather an easiness in letting money go than any premeditated thought for the distribution of it. He would do as much to throw off the burden of a present importunity as he would to relieve a want. He had as little eagerness to oblige as he had to hurt men; the motive of his giving bounties was rather to make men less uneasy to him than more easy to themselves. He could slide from an asking face, and could guess every will. (I used to think it was the motive for making him walk so fast.) This principle of making the love of ease exercise an entire sovereignty in his thoughts would have been less censured in a private man than might be in a Prince. It must be allowed he had little overbalance on the well-natured side—not vigour enough to be earnest to do a kind thing, much less to do a harsh one; but if a hard thing was done to another man, he did not eat his supper the worse for it. It was rather a deadness than severity of nature. In short, this Prince might more properly be said to have gifts than virtues. After all . . . he had as good a claim to a kind interpretation as most men.

If all who are akin to his vices should mourn for him, never Prince would be better attended to his grave. If he sometimes let a servant fall, let it be examined whether he did not weigh so much upon his master as to give him a fair excuse. If he dissembled, let us remember first that he was King, and that dissimulation is a jewel of the Crown. Should nobody throw a stone at his faults but those who are free from them, there would be but a slender

shower. What private man will throw stones at him because he loved? Or what Prince because he dissembled? If Princes are under the misfortune of being accused to govern ill, their subjects have the less right to fall hard upon them, since they generally so little deserve to be governed well.

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PART I

AUTHORITIES CITED.

SUBJOINED is a list of the chief authorities cited, with such explanations as are needful to render it intelligible. In addition to these authorities, use has been made of official publications, such as the *Journals of the Houses of Parliament*, the *London Gazette*, the *State Trials*. The reader should bear in mind that besides State Papers there is a mass of pamphlet literature, dealing with the chief political conflicts of the period, which gives one a very good insight into the ideas and motives of the actors in the Revolution. It is not attempted to detail them here. But the political writings of Sidney, Locke, Swift, Bolingbroke, and Defoe are all of great importance, and would interest those who do not care for research.

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that found it more prudent to leave England. Towards the end of Charles II.'s reign he was deprived of his preferments. During that of James II. he lived in Holland, greatly in the favour of the Prince and Princess of Orange. He came over in the expedition of 1688, and drew up the declaration of the Prince. He was made Bishop of Salisbury, and although his activity as a Whig politician remained to the end, he was an industrious and devout prelate, and has left us a valuable picture of the increase in regularity and activity introduced by the 'latitudinarian' clergy. The first part of his History was composed before 1705, and the later, which goes down to the Peace of Utrecht, in the end of the reign of Anne.

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DATE SUMMARY

PART I.

Charles II.—1660-1685.

1660. Convention Parliament:
Invites Charles, who issues Declaration of Breda and returns.
Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for actions since the outbreak of the Civil War, excepting the regicides.
King's revenue settled, in return for surrender of all feudal dues and right of purveyance.
Army disbanded.

1661-1679. Pensionary Parliament.
1661-1667. Clarendon in power.
Acts of Uniformity and persecution of Dissenters.
1665. Plague.
1666. Fire of London.
1665-1667. War with Holland.
1667. Fall of Clarendon, and abandonment of Church policy.

Charles draws near to Louis XIV.
1667-1673. The Cabal (Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale).
1672. Closing of Exchequer.
Duke of York becomes a Papist.
1673. Break up of the Cabal.

1673-1679. Sir Thomas Osborne (Earl of Danby) Lord Treasurer.
1677. Marriage of Princess Mary to William of Orange.
1678-80. Popish Plot.

1678. Impeachment of Danby.
1679. Dissolution of Parliament.

The Exclusion Bill—Ascendancy of Shaftesbury.

1679. New Parliament.
Danby pleads (in vain) the King's pardon in bar of impeachment, but is committed to the Tower.
Bill to exclude Duke of York from the throne introduced.
Habeas Corpus Act.
Parliament prorogued, then dissolved.
New Parliament elected, but does not meet until October, 1680.
1680. Exclusion Bill passes Commons ; defeated in the House of Lords through the efforts of Halifax.
Execution of Lord Stafford. The belief in the plot begins to decline.
1681. Dissolution of Parliament.
Parliament at Oxford.
Exclusion Bill reintroduced.
Charles, having obtained money from Louis, dissolves.

Reaction.
Shaftesbury prosecuted, but the grand jury refused to find a true bill.
1682. Charters of London and other towns examined by 'Quo Warranto,' and regulated so as to secure a Tory majority.
1683. Ryehouse Plot. Execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney.
1684. Banishment of Monmouth.
1685. Death of Charles.

The Church and Persecution.

1661. Savoy Conference.
Corporation Act, imposing renunciation of the Covenant and reception of the Sacrament on all municipal officers.
1662. Act of Uniformity.
Black Bartholomew.

1662. Declaration of Indulgence by Charles II. alarms the House of Commons.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1665. Five Mile Act (forbidding all who refused to take the oath of non-resistance to be schoolmasters or to settle within five miles of any corporate town).
1672. DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, allowing the worship of Dissenters in public and of Roman Catholics in private.
1673. Commons compels Charles to withdraw the declaration and passes—
TEST ACT, ordering all persons holding office under the Crown to take the Sacrament in the English Church and subscribe a declaration against Transubstantiation.
The Duke of York resigns his office.
1678. Second TEST ACT (in consequence of the Popish Plot): excludes Papists, except the Duke of York, from the House of Lords.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1662. Dunkirk sold to Louis XIV.
1665. FIRST DUTCH WAR.
Victory of Duke of York at Lowestoft.
1666. Louis XIV. joins the Dutch.
Victory over Dutch.
1667. Dutch advance into the Thames and burn ships.
Peace.
1668. The Triple Alliance—England, Holland and Sweden—compels France to make the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1670. Secret Treaty of Dover. Charles promises to aid Louis in a war against the Dutch, and to declare himself a Catholic. Louis engages to pay Charles a pension, and, if needful, assist him with troops.
1672. Second Dutch War.
1674. Peace.
1678. Another secret treaty with Louis.
Treaty of Nimeguen between France and Spain and Holland.
1681. Louis promises Charles further help if he will allow him to secure Luxemburg.

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PART II

INTRODUCTION

JAMES ascended the throne in the height of a Tory reaction, which was rendered still more virulent by the rebellion of Monmouth. Had he possessed one tithe of his brother's political ability, he might have died a popular King, and incidentally done more to secure justice to his co-religionists than was possible until the animosities and panic his ill-advised hurry had awakened were partly (they have never been wholly) set at rest in the first generation of the nineteenth century. But, as a matter of fact, the net result of the activity of James was not so much the ruin of the Stuarts as the definite exclusion from the national life of the Roman Catholics for a century and a half. Barbarous and indefensible as were the penal laws in England—far more so in Ireland—the cause, if not the excuse, for them is to be sought in the acts of James and Tyrconnell and Father Petre. The difference between James and Charles was not that between fanaticism and libertinism; it was a difference of age. James belonged to the mediævalesque period of the Counter-Reformation; his notions were those of the Jesuit reaction and the

Thirty Years' War. No less doctrinaire than his father, he had none of his personal charms, and even less conception of the relation of means to ends. He began by getting rid of Halifax, to whom he owed his throne; and after infuriating the Nonconformists by the instrumentality of Jeffreys, he deserted the Church of England in order to patch up an alliance with them in favour of his own faith. By this means he succeeded in uniting against him the great bulk of the Church which he had bullied, and the Nonconformists whom he had won over, or imagined that he had. The fall of the Hydes marks the failure of his attempt to govern by the Church party, and from this to the Battle of the Boyne events hurried on in a way which would be unintelligibly rapid were it not for the Stuart genius for mismanagement. The Declaration of Indulgence might have been borne, but the deliberate insult to the clergy involved in the order to read it was too much for human nature. When the Bishops petitioned they were put on their trial, against the advice of Jeffreys and Sunderland. On the night of acquittal was despatched the letter which brought William over. This was due partly to the birth of the Prince of Wales, which removed the hope that James would naturally be succeeded by a Protestant. To crown all, James stood on his dignity at the critical moment, and compensated for a career of subserviency before, and of dependence after, the Revolution by refusing to his cousin the right to protect him. Helped by the assistance of the other Catholic Powers, including the Pope, the Prince of Orange appeared and demanded a free Parliament.

Deserted by his General, his Minister, his daughter, James lost such heart as he had, and fled. Brought back, to William's annoyance, he was soon induced to play the Prince's game by a second withdrawal. From that day the Stuarts have played the part of kings of romance with a grace which their virtues, no less than their vices, denied to them in the sphere of practice.

Engineered by skilful politicians, the Revolution took shape. Eminently practical, Englishmen were content to disavow the greatness of the change in theory in order to secure its persistence in fact. The Bill of Rights is not a political treatise, but an Act of Parliament; but the Revolution was as real as any in history, and the centre of gravity of the Constitution was irretrievably shifted. To this fact William owed his difficulties, and the nation the Bank of England. With the Revolution politics ceased to be definitely or mainly religious; the Toleration Act was of its essence. It was the expression of the facts (1) of the impossibility of securing religious uniformity; (2) the possibility of maintaining political union without it. This is the fundamentally modern conception of the State, opposed to the medieval view which makes excommunication equivalent to outlawry.

In the next two reigns we see this conception struggling to maintain itself and producing its natural results. William's real object was to draw England into the European conflict with France; and to this purpose his life was henceforth devoted. With this end in view, he alternately governed by help of a mixed, a Whig, and a Tory Ministry, had

resort to Parliamentary corruption, and negotiated alliances and treaties apart from his Ministers. His objects were unintelligible to Englishmen, who neither knew nor cared about the Continent; and this, coupled with his manners, which were detestable, and with the natural reaction in favour of the absent claimant, rendered his position sometimes precarious, and always disagreeable. But the fortunate folly of Louis in proclaiming James III. gave him the chance he needed, and, after rousing the national patriotism to frenzy, he died outworn and unlamented by a people whom he served without loving and benefited without understanding; but it was William's work which won Blenheim and gave us the British Empire.

The reign of Anne is one of the most brilliant in English history, and cannot be adequately sketched here. It is notable in English politics for the gradually increasing strength of the party system, which apparently became inevitable with Parliamentary government. Marlborough and Godolphin were neither of them party men in the strict sense, and yet both were driven by the exigencies of their position into being agents first of the Tory and later of the Whig party. The career of Marlborough is the cardinal instance of the strength of the forces that made for the two-party system. Here was a man conducting a victorious war, with a position in Europe probably reached by no English subject since Wolsey, gifted with infinite tact and political dexterity; yet withal, hating parties as he did, and striving hard to resist their influence, he found them in the long run too strong for him, was driven by

the Whig Junto to force the younger Sunderland upon the reluctant Queen, and fell not only from political but military influence so soon as the Tories had secured their position. That position was won owing partly to national weariness of a war which had begun by being necessary, was continued as being glorious, and ended by becoming useless; but partly also to a reaction against the engineers of the Revolution. But for the quarrel between Harley and St. John, and for the additional fact that neither of them was possessed of a real conviction, it is probable enough that a Stuart restoration might have been accomplished and been for a time successful. The national sentiment was at least not adverse to the principles of Sacheverell. Further than this, the struggle between Harley and St. John was more than merely personal, and affords evidence of the fact that with a two-party system the evolution of the office of Prime Minister is all but inevitable. All these points strike one the more that they are lit up by the genius of the actors on the stage, for the currents of politics were more closely interwoven with those of society and literature at that time than ever before or since, and Thackeray is one of the greatest of our historians.

But it is in foreign policy, above all, that the reign of Anne has its highest interest. The War of the Spanish Succession is the first of these struggles with France for trade and empire which marked the eighteenth century. Commerce, if not its origin, was largely its object, and the Peace of Utrecht paved the way for Pitt. Owing to their short-sighted obstinacy, the Dutch had allowed England to reap

all the maritime gains of the war, and the peace saw us firmly fixed in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Thus maritime supremacy was now more than ever English, for the Dutch barrier was the grave of an imperial dominion. Holland suffered more from her ally than her enemy, and in giving William to England gave herself, though unconscious of the fact. From Utrecht the importance of Holland as a great Power is at an end. With France the peace was but a truce, for the family compact did destroy the Pyrenees for sixty years, and the commercial concessions in the South Seas made to England could not fail to be developed, and to be the cause of quarrel. The Fishery Question is not yet solved, and the possession of Gibraltar has been a leading fact in our Mediterranean policy ever since.

The whole period is one of great unrest and real development. At the end of it Britain is a modern State, with two religious systems established and many tolerated, with two legal systems, but a Parliament already becoming Imperial, with a world policy before it, and its greatest naval and commercial rival for ever crushed. Government, from being regal, with constitutional checks, has become Parliamentary, tempered by the King. The struggles of sects have become the politics of parties. The Divine Right of Kings is rising into a memory, and 'revolution principles' are becoming an idol. The Privy Council has given place finally to the Cabinet, and there is no longer a doubt that the law must be obeyed by all persons and in all causes. Reason of State has ceased to be a plea, and become a principle; for it has passed from the courts to the

Court, and from being a defence for Ministerial actions it has become an apology for diplomatic words. In 1660 the main thought is still of Puritanism and its antagonists, which look before even more than after; in 1715 the watchwords of 'peace, retrenchment, and reform' — *Imperium et libertas*—are looming in the future; we have passed from the Pilgrim Fathers to Rule, Britannia!

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

JAMES II.

JAMES' CHARACTER AND VIEWS.*

1676. *James' Memoirs.*

There is no man of common-sense in our island who does not, or ought not, to know that England can never be secure and at ease, without she be master of the seas, at least to such a degree as that no prince or state might alone dispute the superiority with her. This being granted, it behoves whosoever is at the helm so to do all things, as they may con-
1 tribute to that purpose: and this is not only to be done by building of great ships, and having the stores and magazines full of all kinds of necessaries for the speedy fitting out of a fleet, but by promoting and encouraging of trade of all kinds, especially those that breed and employ most seamen, that there may be always a plentiful stock of marines, and settling such encouragements as may induce the nobility and gentry to apply themselves to sea affairs.

September, 1685. *Evelyn's Diary.*

2 By what I observed in that journey, is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, great understanding, and

* See also No. 96.

experience of affairs in His Majesty, that I cannot but predict much happiness to the nation as to its

JAMES II.

political government; and if he so persist, there could be nothing more desire to accomplish our prosperity, but that he was of the national religion.

Meeting of Parliament.

May, 1685. *Luttrell*, i. 341.

About this time persons were very busy in elections of members of the House of Commons; great tricks and practices were used to bring in men well affected to the King, and to keep out all those they call Whigs or Trimmers; noblemen busying themselves with elections, getting the writs and precepts into
3 their hands, and managing them as they pleased; King commanding some to stand, and forbidding others, polling many of his servants at Westminster to carry an election; foul returns made in many places; and where gentlemen stood they called Whigs they offered them all the tricks and affronts imaginable.

King James' Speech to his Parliament.

May 22, 1685. *Lords' Journals*, xiv. 9, 10.

After it had pleased Almighty God to take to His mercy the last King, my dearest brother, and to bring me to the peaceable possession of the throne of my ancestors, I immediately resolved to call a Parliament, as the best means to settle everything upon
4 those foundations that might make my reign both easy and happy to you, towards which I am disposed to contribute all that is fit for me to do. What I said to my Privy Council at my first coming there I am desirous to renew to you, wherein I freely declared my opinion concerning the principles of the Church of England, whose members have shown

themselves so eminently loyal in the worst of times, that I will always take care to support and defend it. I will make it my endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State, as it is by law established. And as I will never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the Crown, so will I never invade any man's property. And you may be sure that, having heretofore ventured my life in defence of this nation, I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties.

There is one popular argument which I foresee may be used against what I ask of you, from the inclinations men may have for frequent Parliaments, which some men think would be the best secured by feeding me from time to time by such proportions as they shall think convenient. And this argument, it being the first time I speak to you from the throne, I will answer once for all: That this would be a very improper method to take with me, and that the best way to engage me to meet you often is always to use me well. I expect that you will comply with me in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedily, that this may be a short session, and that we may meet again to all our satisfaction.

Evelyn's Diary.

At every period of this the House gave loud shouts. Then he acquainted them with that morning's news of Argyle's being landed in the West Highlands, and the treasonous declaration he had published, and that he should take the best care he could it should meet with the reward it deserved, not questioning

the Parliament's zeal and readiness to assist him as he desired, at which there followed another *Vive le Roi*, and so His Majesty retired.

So soon as the Commons were returned, they unanimously voted the revenue to His Majesty for life. Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many elections, and would have had those members who he pretended were obnoxious to withdraw till they had cleared the matter of their being legally returned; but no one seconded him. The truth is there were many whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition or interest in the nation or places for which they served, said to have been recommended by the Court, and from the effect of the new charters changing the electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than fifteen charters, so that some called him the Prince Elector; whence Seymour told the House in his speech that if this was digested they might introduce what religion and laws they pleased, and that though he never gave heed to the fears and jealousies of the people before, he now was really apprehensive of Popery.

Argyll and Monmouth.

1685. *Reresby.*

June 14.—The King had an express that Argyll was come into his own country out of the island
6 where they intended to block him up. The same day the Duke of Monmouth's declaration, which arrived the day before, was sent by the King to both

Houses, which passed a bill of attainder against his Grace that very day, and voted £5,000 reward to any that should apprehend the Duke and bring him to the King, dead or alive. This declaration charged James, Duke of York—for so it styled the King—with the burning of the city, the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the murder of Colonel Sidney and my Lord Russell, with poisoning the late King, and tearing his crown from his head, with being led by Popish councils, with packing the present Parliament; and he (the Duke) came to revenge these things upon the King, and would never come to any terms or accommodation till it was done; that he would give no quarter to those who opposed him, and therefore desired all good people to come and assist him. He further declared that he had a just title to the Crown, but he could not claim it till he had called a Parliament, which he would fully satisfy in that matter, promising that Parliaments should sit every year, and not be dismissed till all grievances were redressed; that he would give liberty of conscience to all persons, even to Papists; with much more to this or the like purpose.

Reresby.

June 22.—His Majesty received this news from Scotland: that the Earl of Dumbarton, having notice that the rebels had passed the river Leven
7 above Dumbarton, marched from Glasgow to Stirling, overtook them near Killearn, where they intended to fall upon them, but that night prevented, and gave the rebels opportunity to steal away and to get into Renfrew. The Earl of Dumbarton pursued

them with his horse and dragoons, and on his way understood that they were running away in great confusion. The same day three servants belonging to some gentleman of Renfrew found the Earl of Argyll running away in the habit of a countryman, with a blue bonnet on his head. They asked him who he was, but he refused to tell his name or to render himself, till, being wounded in several places of the head, and fearing to be killed, he confessed he was the Earl of Argyll. Whereupon they took him prisoner and carried him to Glasgow, where he was committed.

1685. 1702. 'Life of James II.,' 116-118.

The Duke on Sunday, the 14th of June, about 3 of the clock in the morning, marched out of Lime with 60 horse and 120 foot, and came to Bridport, from whence he bent his march towards Taunton, greatly increasing his number, for all the Dukes of Albermarle, Somerset, and Beaufort posted themselves to prevent the countries coming into him. After many marches, and some skirmishes between the Duke and the King's party, the Earl of Faversham, who com-
8 manded the King's forces in chief, being advanced from Somerset as far as Weston within three miles of Bridgewater, quartered his horse and dragoons in the said village, and encamped his foot in an advantageous post near it, fronting towards a spacious moor, and having a ditch before them. In the evening the Earl had notice that the Duke was withdrawing out of the town, which made him keep his troops in readiness, and send out frequent parties to observe the motion of the enemy; but the Duke so

dexterously ordered his march, and with such a secrecy, that he got a passage without discovery or opposition into the said moor, and there towards morning draw up his foot in battle array, to the number of between five and six thousand men, and in this position, the Duke being at the head of them, they got within a little way of the King's camp; the Earl's advanced guards having discovered the approach of the enemy, by this time gave the alarm, whereupon the General with all expedition put his men, to the number of 2,000 foot and 500 horse, in a posture to receive them; then the fight began, by the Duke's men making several loud shouts, and brisk volleys being repeated on both sides. The Duke's horse were coming to second the foot, but were intercepted and briskly charged by Colonel Oglethorp; then the Earl of Oxford's regiment and a detachment of the Guards came in to form the lines. It is true, the resistance made by the Duke's horse, commanded by the Lord Grey, was very inconsiderable; the reason thereof was their undexterity in martial discipline, and being never drawn up in a body before, gave way before all that charged them, and soon (being more fit for running than fighting) quitted the field; but others affirm that there was treachery in that Lord. But the foot all this while stood firm on both sides, exchanging volleys with equal eagerness, being debarred from a close engagement by the ditch that was between them. However, the cannon coming up, and the King's horse breaking upon the Duke's infantry, they were at last put to the rout, leaving three pieces of cannon and all that they had behind them. About 2,000 fell a victim to the

sword, and several were taken prisoners. The coat also the Duke usually wore was found amongst the booty, which occasioned a report that he was slain; but this was confuted soon after by an account of his being taken at Ringwood upon the borders of Dorsetshire, hiding himself in a ditch, as was also the Lord Grey, in a disguised habit near that place, taken by the Lord Lumley. Upon the 13th of July the Duke and the Lord Grey were both brought to London, and committed to the Tower, and on the 15th the Duke, by virtue of an attainder passed upon him, was beheaded on Tower Hill.

1685. *Evelyn's Diary.*

Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his fathers and the ladies, being extremely handsome and adroit, an excellent soldier and dancer, a
9 favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauched by lusts, seduced by crafty knaves, who would have set him up only to make a property.

July, 1685. *Luttrell*, i. 351.

Letters from Scotland inform that the late Earl of
10 Argyll was beheaded on a scaffold erected for that purpose near the cross in the city of Edinburgh; his execution was in pursuance of his former conviction.

The Bloody Assize.

1685. 1702. 'Life of James II.,' 122-124.

Now the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys had a special
11 commission granted to try all Monmouth's adherents in the West; and indeed he made use of it with a

witness even to barbarity itself. The first that fell under his merciless resentment was one Alice Lisle, one whose age, if not sex, could find (one should think) some tenderness at his hands. The sequel

JUDGE JEFFREYS.

will justify this our unusual reflection upon this person, who, though the jury brought the prisoner in three times not guilty, yet by threats and comminations he prevailed at last, that she was brought in guilty of high treason, and was beheaded for it.

Her crimes were that she had concealed Mr. Hicks, the Nonconformist minister, and Richard Nelthorp, who was a perfect stranger, as the other was in no proclamation. But the Convention after King William came in, were so much satisfied of the illegality of the severe proceedings of Jeffreys, that they reversed the judgment of her death.

Jeffreys, after this was done, posted to Dorchester, where, understanding there were 30 persons that had been found by the Grand Jury to have been assisting the Duke of Monmouth, My Lord told the prisoners with a great deal of seeming sincerity, that if anyone of them there indicted would relent from their conspiracies and plead guilty to the same, they should find him to be a merciful Judge; but for all his quaintness and elegancy of speech to persuade them to it, yet they pleaded not guilty; yet 29 of the 30, being found guilty, were immediately executed, for the terrifying of others from justifying themselves. But to see the clemency of this Judge, there were 80 more out of 243, who were deluded to plead guilty, executed; and near as many at Exeter served so by the like delusion; and his cruelty at Taunton and Wells where he put a period to his bloody execution, was not inferior or less inhuman to the forementioned ones; for in these two places he passed sentence of death upon 500 persons, whereof 239 were executed, and had their quarters set up in the principal places and roads of those countries, to the no small annoyance of those parts.

And here, not to omit Colonel Kirk, one of the King's officers, he, after the overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth, caused 90 wounded men to be hanged,

without permitting their wives and children to speak to them; but to express his joy to be the author of such unheard-of severity, he caused his pipes to play, drums beat, and trumpets sound, at the execution of the poor wretches, and their quarters, being boiled in pitch, were set up in several parts of the town. At last, after Kirk and Jeffreys had played their game, and the latter took the latitude to reprieve those that would pay him as much as their necks were worth, whereof Mr. Prideaux, though innocent, was forced to purchase his life at the rate of 14,500 pounds, whereas others, having not wherewithal to satisfy his avarice, were sold for slaves into the American Plantations; a Proclamation of Pardon came out, but not without a great many exceptions, and such as Mr. Coke takes the liberty to call ridiculously cruel.

Now, it being the month of September, Sir George Jeffreys, already made Baron of Wem in Shropshire, was made Lord Chancellor of England, and upon the 11th of October Sir Edward Herbere was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Robert Wright removed out of the Exchequer into the same Court.

Trial of Alice Lisle.

Howell's State Trials, xi. 338-348.

L. C. J.: I would not terrify thee to make thee say anything but the truth, but assure thyself I never met with a lying, sneaking, canting fellow, but I
12 always treasured up vengeance for him. . . .

L. C. J.: Now upon your oath tell me truly who it was that opened the stable door—was it Carpenter or you?

DUNNE: It was Carpenter, my Lord.

L. C. J.: Why, thou vile wretch, didst not thou tell me just now that thou pluckedst up the latch? Dost thou take the God of Heaven not to be a God of truth, and that He is not a witness of all thou sayest? Dost thou think because thou prevaricatest with the Court here, thou canst do so with God above, who knows thy thoughts? And it is infinite mercy that for those falsehoods of thine He does not immediately strike thee into hell! Jesus God! There is no sort of conversation nor human society to be kept with such people as these are who have no other religion but only in pretence, and no way to uphold themselves but by countenancing lying and villainy. How durst you offer to tell such horrid lies in presence of God and of a Court of Justice? . . .

L. C. J.: It seems the saints have a certain charter for lying; they may lie and cant and deceive and rebel and think God Almighty takes no notice of it nor will reckon with them for it. You see, gentlemen, what a precious fellow this is, a very pretty tool to be employed upon such an errand, a knave that nobody would trust for half a crown between man and man, but he is the fittest to be employed about such works. What pains is a man at to get the truth out of these fellows! And it is with a great deal of labour that we can squeeze one drop out of them. A Turk has more title to an eternity of bliss than these pretenders to Christianity, for he has more morality and honesty in him. . . .

L. C. J. (*to the same witness*): Dost thou think that after all the pains I have been at to get an answer to my question, that thou canst banter me with such

sham stuff as this? Hold the candle to his face, that ye may see his brazen face.

DUNNE: My Lord, I tell you the truth.

L. C. J.: That is all nonsense! Dost thou imagine that any man hereabouts is so weak as to believe thee?

DUNNE: My Lord, I am so baulked, I do not know what I say myself; tell me what you would have me to say, for I am cluttered out of my senses.

L. C. J.: Why, prithee, man, there is nobody baulks thee but thy own self; it is only thy own depraved naughty heart that baulks both thy honesty and understanding, if thou hast any; it is thy studying how to prevaricate that puzzles and confounds thy intellect; but I see all the pains in the world and all compassion and charity is lost upon thee, and therefore I will say no more to thee.

1685. *Luttrell*, i. 357.

Alicia Lisle, convicted of high treason at a special commission held at Winchester for harbouring of
13 John Hicks, a rebel (but neither convicted, outlawed nor a proclamation against him), received sentence of death to be burnt, and accordingly was beheaded on the Castle Hill.

PETITION OF ALICE LISLE TO THE KING.

State Trials, xi. 376.

'Your Petitioner humbly begs your Majesty that execution may be altered from burning to beheading,
14 and may be respited for four days.' To which His Majesty answered: 'That he would not reprieve her

one day; but for altering the sentence he could do it, if there were any precedents for it.'

Dismissal of Halifax and Prorogation of Parliament.

1685. *Reresby*, 345.

My Lord Halifax told me the particulars of his being dismissed from the Presidentship of the Council. He said he might have continued with greater advantages than ever, if he would have joined in some things which he said were contriving to be carried on, which he could not agree to; that the King
15 parted with him with kind expressions, did assign no cause for his dismission, nor would put any person in his place. This Lord was so generally looked upon as a wise man and a good subject, that the removal of him, especially at the beginning of Parliament, astonished a great many, and made them fear there was a change of councils as well as councillors.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

1685 (*November* 9). *Lords' Journals*, xiv. 73.

After the storm that seemed to be coming upon us when we parted last, I am glad to meet you all again in so great peace and quietness. God Almighty be praised! by whose blessing that rebellion was sup-
16 pressed. But when I reflect what an inconsiderable number of men began it, and how long they carried it on without any opposition, I hope everybody will be convinced that the Militia, which have hitherto been so much depended on, is not sufficient for such

occasions, and that there is nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay that can defend us from such as, either at home or abroad, are disposed to disturb us. Let no man take exception that there are some officers in the army not qualified according to the late tests for their employments. The gentlemen are most of them well known to me, and having formerly served me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practice, I think them not unfit to be employed under me, and will deal plainly with you, that, after having had the benefit of their services in such a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion to make them necessary to me. I am afraid some men may be so wicked to hope and expect that a difference may happen between you and me upon this occasion; but when you consider what advantages have arisen to us in a few months by the good understanding we have hitherto had, I will not apprehend that such a misfortune can befall us.

1685. *Evelyn's Diary.*

November 12.—The Commons postponed finishing
7 the Bill for the supply to consider the test and the Popish officers.

The House of Commons' Address to the King.

November 16, 1685. *Journals of the House*, ix. 758.

We, your Majesty's most loyal and faithful sub-
8 jects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do in

the first place (as in duty bound) return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for your great care and conduct in suppressing the late rebellion. . . . We further crave leave to acquaint your Majesty that we have with all duty and readiness taken into our consideration your Majesty's gracious Speech to us. And as to that part of it relating to the officers in the army not qualified for their employments, we do, out of our bounden duty, humbly represent to your Majesty that these officers cannot by law be capable of their employments, and that the incapacities they bring upon themselves that way can no way be taken off but by an Act of Parliament.

Therefore, out of that great reverence and duty we owe to your Majesty, who have been graciously pleased to take notice of their services to you, we are preparing a Bill to pass both Houses for your Royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have now incurred; and because the continuing of them in their employments may be taken to be a dispensing with the law without Act of Parliament (the consequence of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all your Majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for the security of their religion), we therefore do most humbly beseech your Majesty that you would be most graciously pleased to give such directions therein that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty's most faithful subjects.

The King's Answer to the Commons' Address.

Commons' Journals, ix. 759.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I did not expect such an address from the House of Commons. For having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantages a
19 good understanding between us had produced us in a very short time and given you warning of fears and jealousies amongst ourselves, I had reason to hope that the reputation God had blessed me within the world would have created and confirmed a good confidence in you of me, and of all that I say to you.

1685. *Evelyn's Diary.*

November 20.—The Parliament was adjourned to February, several both of Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of His Majesty's speech
20 relating to the test and continuance of Papist officers in command. This was a great surprise in a Parliament which people believed could have complied in all things.

Progress of James's Design.

1685. *Evelyn.*

December 4. — Lord Sunderland was declared President of the Council, and yet to hold his
21 Secretary's place. The forces dispersed into several quarters through the kingdom are very insolent, on which there are great complaints.

April 22, 1686. *Reresby*, 361.

There was a great change in Westminster Hall of
22 the Judges. There was a new Lord Chief Justice of

the Common Pleas, and other new judge there; a new Lord Chief Baron. This made the greater noise, because several of those turned out were knowing and loyal gentlemen, and their crime was only this: that they would not give their opinions, as most of the rest had done, that the King by his prerogative might dispense with the taking of the test to Roman Catholics.

1686. *Ibid.*

April.—I was informed by Mr. Jones, son to the late Chief Justice, that his father told the King at his dismission that he was not sorry for himself to be laid aside, being old and worn out in his service, but that His Majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious people would give their judgments as he expected; that His Majesty replied it was necessary his judges should be of one mind. He told me further that Sir
23 Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, had been directed by the King to draw a warrant by virtue of his prerogative for a priest of the Church of Rome being put into a benefice, and for one Walker, master of a college in Oxford, and some more fellows of the same college, turned Papists, to be confirmed master and fellows, by *non obstante*. The Attorney said that would be against not only one statute, but all the laws since the time of Elizabeth, that he durst not do it, and desired the King would consider of it, since this struck at the root of the Protestant Church, which was contrary to His Majesty's late gracious promise. The Attorney said further, that as soon as

one could be found that would do it, he expected to lose his place.

1686. *Reresby*, 362.

May 5.—Mr. Finch, Solicitor-General, was turned out, and one Mr. Powis put in his stead, who did what the other refused, viz., to draw a warrant for
24 the confirming of Walker, Master of University College in Oxford, and three fellows and the parson of Putney, in their respective benefices and places, which after passed the Great Seal, notwithstanding their being Papists.

1686. *Ibid.*, 363.

May 13.—The King having lately got a Jesuit for
25 his confessor, went on faster than ever in promoting the Roman Catholic religion.

Hales's Case.

1686. *Luttrell.*

The 16th June came on the great case between Godden and Sir Edward Hales in an action of debt upon the Test Act for £500 for not taking the Sacra-
26 ment and the oaths according to that Act within the time limited, having executed an office; the plaintiff is only the defendant's servant, and the action brought barely to have the opinion of the judges.

The Judgment.

1686. *State Trials*, xi. 1199.

27 Having the concurrence of eleven out of twelve, we think we may very well declare the opinion of

the Court to be that the King may dispense in this case; and the judges go upon these grounds:

1. That the Kings of England are sovereign princes;
2. That the laws of England are the King's laws;
3. That therefore 'tis an inseparable prerogative in the Kings of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases and upon particular necessary reasons;
4. That of those reasons and those necessities the King himself is sole judge; and then, which is consequent upon all,
5. That this is not a trust invested in or granted to the King by the people, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power and prerogative of the Kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.

The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

1686. *Evelyn's Diary.*

July 14.—Was sealed at our office the constitution of certain commissioners to take upon them the full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, *in as unlimited a manner or rather greater than the late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament;* for it had not only
28 faculty to inspect and visit all Bishops' dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the colleges, though founded by private men, to punish, suspend, fine or give oaths, and call witnesses. The main drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum it was the whole power

of a Vicar-General—note the consequence! Of the clergy, the commissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishop of Durham [Crew], and Rochester [Sprat]; of the Temporals, the Lord Treasurer [Rochester], the Lord Chancellor [Jeffreys] [*who alone was ever to be of the quorum*], the Chief Justice [Herbert], and the Lord President [Sunderland].

September 8.—Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, was on Monday suspended on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's for something of a sermon in which he zealously reproved the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop, having consulted the civilians, they told him he could not by any law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses and impleading according to form; but it
29 was overruled by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenced without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that 2 Bishops, Durham and Rochester, sitting in the Commission, and giving their suffrages, the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to sit among them.

The Case of Magdalen College.

April, 1687. *Luttrell*, i. 399.

Dr. Clerk, Master of Magdalen College in Oxford,
30 is lately dead, and a mandate is sent to choose one Father Farmer, a priest, in his room.

Ibid. 410.

31 Magdalen College have chose Dr. Hough Master, and not Mr. Farmer.

September, 1687. *Reresby.*

The President of Magdalen College in Oxford being dead, the King sent a *mandamus* to them to choose the Bishop of Oxford to succeed him; but their answer was *locus plenus est.* The King coming to Oxford, told them that the Church of England men did not use him well, that they had behaved neither like gentlemen nor good subjects, and bid them go presently back to their election and choose the said Bishop, or they should feel how heavy a
32 hand the King had. They went, but returned this answer: they could not make a new choice without committing wilful perjury.

It was generally observed in this progress that the King courted the Dissenters, and discouraged those of the Church of England. The Papists not being numerous enough to contest with the Church of England, he thought to make that party the stronger by gaining to it the Dissenters, whom he baited with liberty of conscience.

1687. *Luttrell*, i. 421.

November. — The Commissioners did, upon the refusal of the fellows of Magdalen College to own their power or the Bishop of Oxford to be their
33 President, actually expel about 25 fellows, and ordered their names to be struck out of their books; and 'tis said the undergraduates treat the President and the *mandamus* fellows with all imaginable scorn.

IRELAND.

August 14, 1686. Clarendon to the King: *Correspondence*, i. 533.

I am unwilling, sir, to give a rash judgment or censure upon any men, but I doubt there are some who have no mind to make much haste to settle this poor country, or, rather, who will ravel so far into the present settlements, under which your peoples have flourished 20 years past, as will confirm men in the opinions they have had, that they should lose the estates they have been so long possessed of, all which apprehensions were easily to be pacified by telling them that they are safe in their possession by laws, which cannot be altered but by their own consents, and that your Majesty will not suffer those laws to be infringed. In the first place they are alarmed at the alterations made in the army. There are already
34 2,000 Irish (which is a fourth part), besides those who have been received since the last June muster, which in all probability will make above that number more. That which adds to their fright is the report that there will be another purge of the army after Michaelmas, and that by Christmas Day there shall not be any Englishman left in it. When men are reasoned out of these fancies, the answer is, Why should we not believe what the officers say themselves? especially when we see whole companies disbanded, and the men plainly told, if they would keep any of their religion, they would not discharge them. 'When we see,' say they, 'all our countrymen disarmed, and that the arms and power are in the hands of the Irish, how can we forget the

barbarous murders committed on us by their murderers? And when we are told plainly that we have no right to our estates, what violence may we not expect from those who have power to take what they think their own, and what they have been so long injuriously kept out of?' The other causes given for their fears are the Irish maintaining that there was no rebellion in 1641, that all grants made by the late King not in pursuance of the Acts of Settlement were a surprise on His Majesty, and are void. The old proprietors have in several places forbid their tenants paying their rents to their present landlords. The Roman Catholic clergy have in several places forbid the people paying their tithes to the Protestant ministers.

1686. Clarendon to Rochester: *Correspondence*, i. 541.

I do assure you truth, even in bare matter of fact, will never be known from my Lord Tyrconnel; it is impossible; you can't believe, except you found it, as we do here, how false he is in almost everything he says. What he desires to be done one day, or avers he has done, he will as positively deny another, though witnesses can prove him in the wrong—nay, though sometimes his own hand is shown against him; really his passion and his rage (we know not for what) make him forget what he says and does; and when he is convinced that he is in the wrong, he is then in such a fury that the like is not usual.

I push to know what His Majesty would have done, which I should be very glad he would tell me, then I should know what to think of; but, really, to

be told that my Lord Tyrconnel has no orders to do anything but what I give him, and for him to give directions which I do not know of, as if he had some secret instructions from the King, and which yet he will not own, makes me make a strange figure.

Progress of the King's Scheme.

The Fall of the Hydes.

1687. *Diary of Clarendon*, '*Correspondence*,' ii. 142.

January 8.—I received a letter from my Lord President* acquainting me with the King's pleasure, that I was to leave the Government. I am not now surprised at my being recalled, having had so certain information of my Lord Tyrconnel's being to come into the Government. I did expect it, but I confess the manner of my being recalled, to remove out of such a station at this season of the year, and at a week's warning, looks like a mark of the King's displeasure. I confess I have been very stiff in the
36 matter of reversing the outlawries, because, according to very good opinions, it is against law, and because it is plain it will be the greatest blow that can be given to the English Protestant interest, to the prejudice of which nothing shall tempt me to contribute. Sometimes I think it may be possible that the King have so far altered his measures as to bring Roman Catholics into all employments; it seems to be something that way by the opinions the judges have lately given as to the King's dispensing power.

* Sunderland.

Considering how powerful the Papists now are in Ireland, that the army has been this last summer new modelled, most of the English Protestants being disbanded, and Papists admitted to freedoms in all corporations, it is very probable that the King might think it now seasonable to put Ireland under a Popish Governor. If my being a Protestant be the cause of my ill usage, I am so far from being troubled, that I look on it as a great honour to be found worthy to suffer for my religion.

1687. *Luttrell.*

January 3.—There was now another change of the
37 great officers. The Treasury was put into Commission, two professed Papists amongst them.

Evelyn.

January 17.—Much expectation of several great men declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruin of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its great improvement going on. Much discourse
38 that all the white Staff Officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion. Popish Justices of the Peace established in all counties of the meanest of the people; judges ignorant of the law and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive and even compel princes to violent courses and destruction of an excellent Government, both in Church and State.

March 10.—Most of the great officers, both in the
39 Court and country, Lords and others, were dismissed,

as they would not promise His Majesty their consent to the repeal of the Test and Penal Statutes against Popish recusants. To this end most of the Parliament men were spoken to in His Majesty's closet, and such as refused, if in any place, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial.

The Dispensing Power and the Trial of the Seven Bishops.

1687. *Reresby*, 374.

July 7.—Came the proclamation to hand whereby
40 the King dissolved the Parliament, which startled many.

1687. *Ibid.*, 375.

July 8.—The Pope's Nuncio being to make his public entry at Windsor with great solemnity, and the Duke of Somerset, being in waiting, refused to
41 attend us that ceremony; for which he was forbid coming to Court and lost all his places. Five of the six gentlemen of the privy chamber in waiting were put out of their employments for the same cause.

1687. *Reresby*, 387, 388.

December 17.—The King caused the Lord-Lieutenants of most, if not all, counties of England to call together all their deputy-lieutenants and the justices of the peace, and to ask them these three questions:
42 1. In case the King should call a Parliament and they be chosen of it, would they give their votes to take away the Test and Penal Laws?

2. Would they give their votes for the choosing of

such members as they believed would be for the taking them away?

3. Would they live peaceably with such as dissented from them in religion, as good Christians ought to do?

Several Lord Lieutenants who refused to execute this order were turned out, and Papists put in their places.

January, 1688. *Luttrell*, i. 429.

Several corporations have been newly regulated,
43 the Tories turned out, and Dissenters and Papists put in.

Second Declaration of Indulgence.

April 4, 1688. *London Gazette.*

We, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade, and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit, by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament, when we shall think it convenient for them to meet. In the first
44 place, we do declare, that we will protect and maintain our Archbishops, Bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever. We do likewise declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure, that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters

ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the Sacrament, or for any other nonconformity to the religion established, be immediately suspended, and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every of them, is hereby suspended. And to the end that by the liberty hereby granted the peace and security of our government, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered, we have thought fit, and do hereby straitly charge and command all our loving subjects, that as we do freely give them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired or built for that use, so that they take special care that nothing be preached or taught amongst them which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government; and that their meetings and assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of the peace what place or places they set apart for those uses. And that all our subjects may enjoy such their religious assemblies with greater assurance and protection, we have thought it requisite, and do hereby command, that no disturbances of any kind be made or given unto them, under pain of our displeasure, and to be further proceeded against with the utmost severity. And forasmuch as we are desirous to have the benefit of the service of all our loving subjects, which by the law of nature is inseparably annexed to and inherent in our royal person, and that none of our subjects may for the future be under any discouragement or disability (who are otherwise well inclined and fit to

serve us) by reason of some oaths or tests that have been usually administered on such occasions, we do hereby further declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure that the oaths commonly called the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and 30th years of the reign of our late royal brother King Charles II., shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, by any persons whatsoever, who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust, either civil or military. . . . We do hereby give our free and ample pardon unto all non-conformists, recusants, and other our loving subjects for all crimes and things by them committed or done, contrary to the penal laws formerly made, relating to religion, and the profession or exercise thereof; hereby declaring that this our royal pardon and indemnity shall be as good and effectual to all intents and purposes as if every individual person had been therein particularly named, or had particular pardons under our Great Seal, which we do likewise declare shall from time to time be granted unto any person or persons desiring the same. And although the freedom and assurance we have hereby given in relation to religion and property might be sufficient to remove from the minds of our loving subjects all fears and jealousies in relation to either; yet we have thought fit further to declare, that we will maintain them in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands as in any other their lands and properties whatsoever.

May 4, 1688. *London Gazette.*

It is this day ordered by His Majesty in Council, that His Majesty's late gracious declaration, bearing date the 27th of April last, be read at the usual time of Divine service, upon the 20th and 27th of this month, in all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles there-
45 about; and upon the 3rd and 10th of June next in all other churches and chapels throughout this kingdom. And it is hereby further ordered, that the right reverend the Bishops cause the said declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective dioceses, to be read accordingly.

The Petition of the Seven Bishops.

1688. *State Trials*, xii 239.

Humbly sheweth: that the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty; our holy mother, the Church of England, being both in
46 her principles and in her constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her great honour, been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other considerations, from this especially,

because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in Church and State, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again even in God's House, and in the time of His Divine service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction.

1688. *Appendix to Clarendon's Letters*, ii. 479.

47 The KING: This is a great surprise to me. Here are strange words. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion.

1688. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 177.

48 *June* 14.—In the morning I went to see my Lord Chancellor. He discoursed very freely to me concerning the Bishops. He said the King was once resolved to let the business fall, and not to have proceeded thus against them; that he was grieved to find he had changed his mind, but said there was no remedy; some men would hurry the King to his destruction.

Trial of the Seven Bishops.

Summing up of Wright, C.J.

1688. Howell's *State Trials*, xii. 424-428.

Gentlemen, after this was proved, then the defendants came to their part, and these gentlemen that were of counsel for my lords let themselves into their defence by notable learned speeches, by telling you that my lords the Bishops are guardians to the Church, and great peers of the realm, and were bound in conscience to take care of the Church. They have read you a clause of a statute made in Queen Elizabeth's time, by which they say my lords the Bishops were under a curse if they did not take care of that law. Then they show you some records, one in Richard II.'s time, which was a liberty given to the King to dispense with the Statute of Provisors. Then they show you some journals of Parliament; first in
49 the year 1662, where the King had granted an indulgence, and the House of Commons declared it was not fit to be done, unless it were by Act of Parliament; and they read the King's speech, wherein he says he wished he had such a power; and so likewise that in 1672, which is all nothing but addresses and votes, or orders of the House, or discourses — either the King's speech or the subjects' addresses; but these are not declarations in Parliament. That is insisted upon by the counsel for the King, that what is a declaration in Parliament is a law, and that must be by the King, Lords, and Commons. The other is but common discourse, but a vote of the House, or a signification of their opinion,

and cannot be said to be a declaration in Parliament. Then they come to that in 1685, where the Commons take notice of something about the soldiers in the army that had not taken the test, and make an address to the King about it; but in all these things (as far as I can observe) nothing can be gathered out of them one way or the other. It is nothing but discourses. Sometimes this dispensing power has been allowed, as in Richard II.'s time, and sometimes it has been denied, and the King did once waive it.

But those concessions which the King sometimes makes for the good of the people, and sometimes for the profit of the Prince himself (but I would not be thought to distinguish between the profit of the Prince and the good of the people, for they are both one, and what is the profit of the Prince is always for the good of the people)—but I say those concessions must not be made law, for that is reserved in the King's breast, to do what he pleases in it at any time. . . .

Now, gentlemen, anything that shall disturb the Government, or make mischief and a stir among the people, is certainly within the case of *De Libellis Famosis*, and I must, in short, give you my opinion. I do take it to be a libel. Now, this being a point of law, if my brothers have anything to say to it, I suppose they will deliver their opinions.

Justice Powell: Truly, I cannot see, for my part, anything of sedition, or any other crime, fixed upon these reverend fathers, my lords the Bishops.

For, gentlemen, to make it a libel it must be false, it must be malicious, and it must tend to

sedition. As to the falsehood, I see nothing that is offered by the King's counsel; nor anything as to the malice. It was presented with all the humility and decency that became the King's subjects to approach their Prince with.

Now, gentlemen, the matter of it is before you. You are to consider of it, and it is worth your consideration. They tell His Majesty it is not averseness to pay all due obedience to the King, nor want of tenderness to their dissenting fellow-subjects, that made them not perform the command imposed upon them; but they say that because they conceive that the thing that was commanded them was against the law of the land. Therefore they desire His Majesty that he would be pleased to forbear to insist upon it that they should perform that command which they take to be illegal.

Gentlemen, we must consider what they say is illegal in it. They say they apprehend the declaration is illegal because it is founded upon a dispensing power, which the King claims, to dispense with the laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs.

I do not remember, in any case in all our law (and I have taken some pains upon this occasion to look into it), that there is any such power in the King, and the case must turn upon that. In short, if there be no such dispensing power in the King, then that can be no libel which they presented to the King, which says that the declaration, being founded upon such a pretended power, is illegal.

Now, this is a dispensation with a witness. It amounts to an abrogation and utter repeal of all the laws; for I can see no difference, nor know any, in

law, between the King's power to dispense with laws ecclesiastical, and his power to dispense with any other laws whatsoever. If this be once allowed of, there will need no Parliament; all the legislature will be in the King, which is a thing worth considering, and I leave the issue to God and your consciences.

JUSTICE ALLYBONE: I think, in the first place, that no man can take upon him to write against the actual exercise of the Government, unless he have leave from the Government, but he makes a libel be what he writes true or false; for if once we come to impeach the Government by way of argument, it is the argument that makes it the Government or not the Government. So that I lay down that, in the first place, the Government ought not to be impeached by argument, nor the exercise of the Government shaken by argument, because I can manage a proposition in itself doubtful with a better pen than another man; this, say I, is a libel.

Then, I lay down this for my next position, that no private man can take upon him to write concerning the Government at all, for what has any private man to do with the Government if his interest be not stirred or shaken? It is the business of the Government to manage matters relating to the Government. It is the business of subjects to mind only their own properties and interests. If my interest is not shaken, what have I to do with matters of Government? They are not within my sphere. If the Government does come to shake my particular interest, the law is open for me, and I may redress myself by law. And when I intrude myself

into other men's business that does not concern my particular interest, I am a libeller.

1688. *Evelyn's Diary.*

When this was heard there was great rejoicing, and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the waterside on their knees, as the Bishops
50 passed and repassed, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of near sixty Earls and Lords on the bench did not a little comfort them.

Birth of the Prince of Wales.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 426.

January.—His Majesty's proclamation hath been
51 published for a day of thanksgiving upon the occasion of the Queen's being with child.

1688. *Ibid.*, i. 442.

June 10, being Trinity Sunday, in the morning
52 fifteen minutes before ten, the Queen was delivered of a Prince.

1688. *Ibid.*, i. 449.

July.—People give themselves a great liberty in
53 discoursing about the young Prince, with strange reflections on him, not fit to insert here.

The Letter of Invitation to the Prince of Orange.*

1688. 'Dalrymple's Memoirs,' ii. 107.

We have great satisfaction to find that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistance as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance.

The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the Government in relation to their religion, liberties, and properties (all of which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that
54 your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty in the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as could secure them from being destroyed; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them beforehand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them will venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them; and if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them till

* Despatched the night of the acquittal of the seven Bishops.

they could be got into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe that their army then would be very much divided among themselves; many of the officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that, some of their minds are known already), and very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the Popish religion that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters from them; and amongst the seamen it is almost certain there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. Besides all this, we do much doubt whether this present state of things will not yet be much changed to the worse before another year by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed Parliament, but what the meeting of any Parliament (in our present circumstances) may produce against those, who will be looked upon as principal obstructors of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted that if things cannot then be carried to their wishes in a Parliamentary way, other measures will be put in execution by more violent means; and although such proceedings will then heighten the discontents, yet such courses will probably be taken at that time as will prevent all possible means of relieving ourselves.

These considerations make us of opinion that this is a season in which we may more probably contri-

bute to our own safeties than hereafter, in so much that if you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give assistances this year sufficient for a relief, we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of. But we must also lay our difficulties before your Highness, which are chiefly: that we know not what alarm your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be necessary for you to give the States beforehand, by either of which means their intelligence or suspicions here may be such as may cause us to be secured before your landing; and we must presume to inform your Highness that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you some injury; the false imposing of that upon the Princess and the nation being not only an infinite exasperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner must be founded on your part, although many other reasons are to be given on ours.

If upon due consideration your Highness shall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, there must be no more time lost in letting us know your resolution, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready.

25 Shrewsbury. 24 Devonshire. 27 Danby. 29 Lumley.
31 Bishop of London. 35 Russell. 33 Sidney.

William's Expedition.

1688. *Reresby*, 399.

August 25.—The Court was in some trouble and the King out of humour (though he was always of so even a temper that it was hard to discover it) at the news of the Dutch having set out a great fleet as designed against us, that the French and the Dutch were to fall out, and that we were pressed on both
55 sides to declare speedily which to take. The King, the first thing he did, was to declare that he would call a Parliament to meet the 27th of November following. He commanded all officers to repair to their commands, and drew the forces out of other garrisons and places to man the seaports.

September, 1688. *James' Memoirs*, i. 154.

D'Avaux's memorial to the States about their design to invade England; that his master (Louis XIV.) should look on it as a rupture with France, and invade their country with 40,000 men; which, had it been pursued, would have broke their design.
56 Sunderland had persuaded the King it was a French stratagem, and got him to reject all advice. He had still credit to arraign this step, as affording the Dutch a pretence to arm, and alarming England with a French alliance against their religion. So the King disclaimed M. d'Avaux's memorial to the Dutch Ambassador, and in all foreign Courts.

September 1, 1688. *Luttrell*, i. 462.

His Majesty hath issued a declaration to quiet
57 the minds of his people in the ensuing Parliament

(for which the writs are out), to meet in November next, that he will only endeavour a universal liberty of conscience, that he will secure the Church of England, that the Roman Catholics shall remain unable to be members of the House of Commons.

1688. *Evelyn's Diary.*

September 18.—I found the Court in the utmost consternation on the report of the Prince of Orange's landing, which put Whitehall into so panic a fear that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a
58 change. Writs were issued in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with great professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfaction to the people.

September, 1688. *Luttrell*, i. 463.

Fresh expresses do confirm the design of the
59 Dutch to be upon England; that they have 16,000 men on board besides seamen.

October, 1688. *James' Memoirs*, i. 154, 155.

On October 3 the Bishops waited on the King with heads of advice, which he granted in great
60 measure; on the 12th Magdalen College was restored, and on the 15th the Prince of Wales was named. His birth was proved in a Council Extraordinary on the 22nd.

Luttrell, i. 464.

The 2nd, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs,
61 attended the King, and he was pleased to tell them

of his resolution to restore the City of London to their charters and ancient privileges as before the Quo Warranto.

1688. *Reresby*, 406.

October 6.—Lord Preston the new Secretary of State, my Lord Sunderland being laid aside who
62 was turned Papist and had done great harm, since he was near the King.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 465.

His Majesty since the news of this invasion hath
63 turned out for the present several Popish Lord Lieutenants and put in Protestants.

Ibid., 468.

His Majesty hath been pleased to restore Dr. Hough, the President, and Fellows of Magdalen College.
64 Oh! rare invasion to occasion so many gracious acts in restoring things to their old legal foundation, which hath been the work of some years to unhinge.

October 17, 1688. *Ibid.*, 469.

Our fleet is put to sea, consisting of about thirty
65 men-of-war and some fire-ships under the command of the Lord Dartmouth.

1688. *Ibid.*, 473.

November.—An express came to the King the 3rd at night from Dover that the Dutch fleet, about 600
66 sail, were passed by the Channel westward; on which the King immediately ordered the Irish battalion of guards, several companies of the Lord Craven's regi-

ment, and some troops of grenadiers, immediately for Portsmouth. On the 4th another express from Sir Robert Holmes, that the Dutch fleet were seen off the Isle of Wight; and the 6th came another express that the Dutch fleet made towards the land about Dartmouth in Devonshire. Upon this news, order was immediately sent to all the forces that were drawn down northwards to come up (the Prince's landing being expected either at Yarmouth, Colchester, Sold Bay, or Bridlington Bay).

1688. *Keresby*, 410.

November 7.—I had another express that the Prince was certainly landed at Torbay the 5th of November
67 and had marched straight to Exeter, attended by the Marshal de Schomberg.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 474.

The Prince of Orange entered Exeter the 9th,
68 and had his declaration read by Dr. Burnet in the cathedral.

1688. *Ibid.*, 475.

Letters from the West say that the West Country gentlemen go in very fast to him, as also that some of the King's regiments of soldiers at Salisbury were gone over to him; that the Lord Cornbury with his regiment of dragoons, the Duke of St. Alban's
69 regiment of horse, commanded by Colonel Langston, and the royal regiment of horse of the Duke of Berwick's, commanded by Sir Francis Compton; that they were decoyed near the enemies' quarters by the Lord Cornbury and Colonel Langston, but

that some of them, finding they were betrayed, returned back.

Churchill's Treachery.

1688. *Reresby*, 419.

On November 19, the King being got to Salisbury, the Lord Churchill under pretence of showing His Majesty the outguards of the army had led him into a train, where he had certainly been betrayed into the hands of a party of the Prince's army, but that an immoderate bleeding at the nose prevented his
70 going. My Lord Churchill, finding that he missed of his design, went immediately over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and others. This ungrateful Lord Churchill was raised from page to the King to the degree of a Viscount of England, and had got a great estate with it, by the King's bounty.

Letter to James.

1688. *Coxe*, i. 22.

Sir,

Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity when they act contrary to their interests, and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services
71 much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions, yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty

and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your Majesty.

This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience and a necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which I am instructed nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty's true interest and the Protestant religion; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due), endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes [etc.].

1688. *Reresby*, 419.

November 25.—The number of those that revolted was not 1,000 in all as yet, but everyone was so
72 jealous one of another that they knew not whom to trust, so the army and artillery were marched towards London, and the King came there on the 26th.

Negotiations and Flight of the King.

1688. *Reresby*, 420.

November 27.—Proclamation came out for a Parliament to meet January 15 next; my Lord Halifax,
73 my Lord Nottingham, and my Lord Godolphin were named Commissioners to go to the Prince.

1688. *Ibid.*, 420, 421.

December 3.—Portsmouth, also a strong garrison, was taken. Bristol and several other less places,
74 followed the same fate. In that part of Yorkshire where I lived very few gentlemen continued firm to the King—nor, indeed, in any part of the North of England.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 485.

The Commissioners met the Prince at Hungerford,
75 and were well received.

1688. Before 1705. Burnet, i. 794.

The Marquis of Halifax sent for me. But the Prince said, though he would suspect nothing from our meeting, others might; so I did not speak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occasion to ask me, so as nobody observed it,
76 if we had a mind to have the King in our hands. I said, by no means, for we would not hurt his person. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I said nothing was so much to be wished for. This I told the Prince, and he approved of both my answers.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 485.

The 9th an express came of a skirmish at Reading between the Prince's advanced guards and the King's forces there; and the King, upon the news of this
77 skirmish, and that his army refused to fight, ordered the Queen to be gone with the Prince of Wales, and according about two at night she took water in order to her going beyond the sea.

1688. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 220.

Lord Halifax asked for Dr. Burnet, and desired me to send him to him; we then left them together. I presently told the Prince how my Lord Halifax
78 had desired to see Dr. Burnet, upon which the Prince said there would then be fine tattling; but he should not speak to Burnet in private.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 485.

Things growing more to a ferment, and all tending towards the Prince, the King went the 10th at
79 night to Somerset House, and stayed with Queen Dowager some time; and at two in the morning on the 11th he took water privately and went down the river, in order to going beyond the sea.

1688. *Ibid.*, 487.

The broad seal, the privy seal, and the signet were carried away when the King went, or, rather, the
80 Queen took them with her. The King, when he went away, left a letter for the Earl of Feversham:

1688. Printed in 'Life of James II.,' 1702.

My Lord,

81 Things being come to that extremity that I have been forced to send away the Queen and my

son, the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, which they must have done if they had stayed, I am obliged to do the same thing, in hopes it will please God out of His infinite mercy unto this unhappy nation to touch their hearts again with true loyalty and honour. If I could have relied on all my troops, I might not have been put to the extremity I now am in, and would at least have had one blow for it. But though I know there are many valiant and brave men among you, both officers and soldiers, yet you know that both you and several of the general officers and soldiers and men of the army told me it was no ways advisable for me to venture myself at their head, or to think to fight the Prince of Orange with them.

And now there remains only for me to thank you and all those, both officers and soldiers, who have stuck to me and been truly loyal. I hope you still retain the same fidelity to me; and though I do not expect you shall expose yourselves by resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nation, yet I hope your former principles are so inrooted in you that you will keep yourself free from associations and such pernicious things.

1688. *Reresby*, 421.

This absenting himself was the more wondered at, because the Commissioners sent to the Prince of Orange had sent him word that they thought that
82 things might be accommodated with His Highness to His Majesty's satisfaction; whereupon he ordered the Cabinet Council to meet the next day at nine in

the morning, but intended nothing less than to be there, but went away that very night, without leaving any orders behind him or directions in the least. Upon this the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and the general officers wrote to the Prince to let him know that the King had left them, and that they would endeavour to keep all things in order till they received His Highness's directions, inviting him to town at the same time.

Capture of James and Second Withdrawal.

December, 1688. *Luttrell*, i. 487.

The 13th an express came to the Lords from Feversham in Kent that a shalloop was driven in
83 there, wherein was His Majesty, Sir Edward Hales, etc.; they were stopped by the seamen, and their money taken from them before they were known.

1688. *Ibid.*, 488.

His Majesty lay the 15th at Rochester in Kent, and returned to London in his coach the 16th in the evening, attended by his guards. The Prince of
84 Orangé hath sent the Sieur de Zulesteyn to His Majesty, and the King hath sent the Lord Feversham to the Prince with a letter, and to invite him to St. James's.

December 16, 1688. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 227.

We fell into discourse of the King's being stopped
85 at Feversham, and that he would be at Whitehall to-night; upon which Burnet said it was foolishly done of those who stopped him at Feversham, and

that his coming back to Whitehall would very much disturb things.

1688. *Luttrell*, i. 489.

The 17th in the evening the Lord Shrewsbury and the Lord Delaware came to the King from the Prince, to acquaint His Majesty that the Prince
86 thought it not safe for him to continue in town for fear of the rabble, but that he thought it better for the King to retire to Ham, near Richmond; and accordingly the next morning about eleven the King, seeing he must go, chose rather to go to Rochester.

1688. *Reresby*, 425.

Then the Prince came to St. James's, where he was complimented, and attended by a great many of the nobility; and the night was spent in ringing of bells, bonfires, and other expressions of joy by the
87 rabble. The King began to apprehend that he was in danger, and sent to the Lords that he desired to withdraw himself out of the kingdom. They took some time to consider what answer to give to His Majesty. In the meantime he went away privately a second time.

December 23, 1688. *Clarendon*, ii. 234.

Good God! what will become of this poor dis-
88 tracted and distempered nation? It is like an earthquake.

1688. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 237.

December 29.—The King's reasons for withdrawing
89 from Rochester appeared to-day in print.

1688. From a *Life of James II.*

'The world cannot wonder at my withdrawing myself now this second time. I might have expected somewhat better usage, after what I writ to the Prince of Orange by my Lord Feversham, and the instructions I gave him. But instead of an answer, such as I might have hoped for, what was I to expect, after the usage I received by the making the said Earl a prisoner, against the practice and law of nations; the sending his own guards at eleven at night to take possession of the posts at Whitehall,
90 without advertising me in the least manner of it; the sending to me at one of the clock at midnight, when I was in bed, a kind of order by three Lords to be gone out of my palace before twelve the same morning? After all this, how could I hope to be safe, so long as I was in the power of one who had not only done this to me, and invaded my kingdoms, without any just occasion given him for it; but that did, by his own declaration, lay the greatest aspersion on me that malice could invent, in the clause of it which concerns my son.'

The Convention.

1688. *Reresby*, 426.

The Lords, having sat in the Lords' house for some time, finding His Majesty refused to appoint another Chancellor or Lord Keeper, or to produce the
91 Great Seal (my Lord Halifax chairman), framed an address to the Prince to take the government upon himself till things were settled.

1688. *Reresby*, 426.

December 26.—He returned this answer, that he
92 could give no answer till he had the opinion of the Commons. Two days before the Prince had ordered

GEORGE SAVILE, MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.

my Lord Mayor and fifty of the Aldermen and Common Council, with all such members of the House of Commons, in town in the Parliaments of King Charles II., to meet in the House of Commons,

to sit there as a Committee of that House. They met to the number of about 300, and voted to agree with the Lords in most things, particularly in their address to take the government upon him until the 22nd of January, when a Convention was to be agreed upon to be called.

1689. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 252.

93 *January* 22.—Lord Marquis of Halifax was appointed Speaker [of Lords] *pro tempore*.*

1689. *Reresby*, 430.

Though the Convention had met on the 22nd, yet nothing was done considerable till the 28th, when the settlement of the nation being taken into consideration, they passed this vote, that King James II., having endeavoured to pervert the government of
94 this kingdom by breaking the original contract between the King and the people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having subverted the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and the throne was thereby vacant.

January 29, 1689.—The Lords entered into consideration of the same matter. Some were for recalling the King upon conditions, but those very few; others for the government to be continued in the King's
95 name, and the Prince to have the executive power of it by the name of Regent or Protector; others for having the King to forfeit the crown, and the Prince of Orange elected into it; others for having the said Prince and Princess crowned, as it was in the case

* Jeffreys was in the Tower.

of Philip and Mary, and to hold it by descent in right of Mary, without taking notice of the Prince of Wales, because a Papist.

1689. Burnet, i. 8, 10-19.

The Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, and Rochester were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regent in opposition to those who were for setting up another King. It was urged that if, upon any pretence whatsoever, the nation might throw off their King, then the crown must become precarious, and the power of judging the King must be in the people. This must end in a commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and history of England to prove that not only the person, but the authority, of the King was sacred. The much greater part of the House of Lords was for this, and stuck long to it, and so was about a third
96 part of the House of Commons.

The third party was made up of those who held that there was an original contract between the Kings and the people of England, by which the Kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the King. What did all limitations of the royal power signify, if, upon a King's breaking through them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws and to preserve their constitution? [King James] had broken the laws in many public and avowed instances; he had set up an open treaty with Rome; he had shaken the whole settlement of Ireland, and had put that island, and the English and the Pro-

testants that were there, in the power of the Irish. The dispensing power took away not only those laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatsoever, by the precedent it had set and by the consequences that followed upon it; by the ecclesiastical commission he had invaded the liberty of the Church, and subjected the clergy to mere will and pleasure; and all was concluded by his deserting his people and flying to a foreign power, rather than stay and submit to the determinations of a free Parliament.

As to the proposition of a Prince Regent, it was argued that this was as much against monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If the oaths to James were thought still binding, the subjects were by these not only bound to maintain his title to the crown, but all his prerogatives and powers.

Those who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the persons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them intended to depress the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raise the power of the people upon the ruin of monarchy. Some went so far as to say that the whole government was dissolved.

It was a more important debate, whether the throne could be declared vacant. It was said that, supposing King James had abdicated, the throne was *ipso facto* filled in that instant by the next heir. The next thing in debate was who should fill the throne. The Marquis of Halifax moved that the crown should be given to the Prince, and to the two Princesses after him. How far the Prince himself

entertained this I cannot tell, but I saw it made great impression upon Bentinck, in which the Marquis of Halifax was single among the peers. Some moved that the Princess of Orange might be put in the throne, and that it might be left to her to give the Prince such a share either of dignity or power as she should propose.

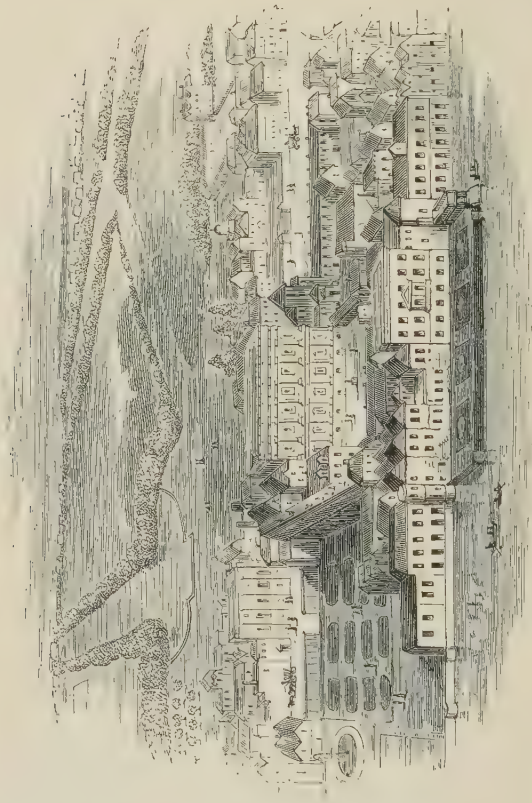
1689. *Lord Dartmouth's note to Burnet*, i. 819.

There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby, one for the Prince and the other for the Princess. At last Lord Halifax
97 said he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who [said] he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher, upon which Danby said he hoped they all knew enough now—for his part he knew too much—and broke up the assembly.

1689. Before 1705. Burnet, i. 820, 821.

During all these debates the Prince's own behaviour was very mysterious. He stayed at St. James's; he went little abroad; access to him was not very easy. He heard all that was said to him, but seldom made any answer. He did not affect to
98 be affable or popular. After a reservedness that continued so close for several weeks that nobody could certainly tell what he desired, he called for the Marquis of Halifax, and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Danby, and some others. He told them he was resolved neither to court nor threaten anyone,

and therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts. Some were for putting the government in



WHITEHALL AND ST. JAMES'S PARK.

the hands of a Regent. He would say nothing against it, if it was thought the best mean for settling their affairs, only he thought it necessary

to tell them he would not be the Regent; so, if they continued in that design, they must look out for some other person to be put in that post. He himself saw what the consequences of it were likely to prove, so he would not accept of it. Others were for putting the Princess singly on the throne, and that he should reign by her courtesy. He said no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess, but he was so made he could not think of holding anything by apron-strings, nor could he think it reasonable to have any share in the government, unless it was put in his person, and that for term of life. If they did think fit to settle it otherwise, he would not oppose them, but he would go back to Holland and meddle no more in their affairs.

This was presently told about, and it helped not a little to bring the debates to a speedy determination.

1689. *Reresby*, 435.

The vacancy being thus agreed to, the Lords voted that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be crowned King and Queen of England. The Commons went further, and voted that all sanction of the laws should be in the King singly, and not in
99 the Queen; that the succession of the Crown should be to them, and to the longer liver of them, then to their issue, and for want thereof to Princess Anne and her issue, and next the issue of the Prince of Orange, in case he had any by another wife, and so to the right line, Papists excepted.

Clarendon's Diary, i. 26c.

The great argument used by my Lord Halifax (who was the head of the prevailing party, and drove
100 furiously) was necessity, and that the Crown was only made elective *pro hac vice*, and then reverted into its hereditary channel again.

1689. *Reresby*, 438.

February 11.—Both Houses having agreed at several conferences in their grievances now expected to be redressed, and the Princess of Orange being arrived from Holland, the day after Shrove Tuesday both Houses in a body went to attend their Highnesses, seated in two chairs of state in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where the Lords' Speaker [Halifax], after having read their said grievances, and desired redress of them, desired them also to accept of the crowns of England, France, and Ireland. The Prince, after a short speech, wherein he told them he did accept of the same, and would do
101 what he could to preserve their liberties, went away with the Princess; and the heralds and several of the nobility proceeded to proclaim them King and Queen according to the usual form, the rest of the day being spent in ringing of bells, bonfires at night, and other expressions of joy, though a great many looked sadly upon it.

Some of the chief things which the conventioners declared illegal were as follows: Suspension of laws or their execution by the King, without consent of Parliament; the Court of Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes; the raising of money by prerogative without Parliaments; the keeping a standing army

in time of peace, without consent of Parliament; obstructing the free choice of members of Parliament, or freedom of speech in Parliament; imposing excessive bail or fines upon the subjects; the illegal choice of jurors.

William's Intrusion.

A Jacobite Song.

Mackay's 'Jacobite Songs,' 47.

O, I had a wee bit mailin,
And I had a good grey mare,
And I had a braw bit dwelling,
Till Willie the wag came here.
He waggit me out o' my mailin,
He waggit me out o' my gear,
And out o' my bonny black gowny
That ne'er was the waur o' the wear.

He fawn'd and he waggit his tail
Till he poisoned the true well-e'e;
And wi' the wagging o' his fause tongue
He gart the brave Monmouth die. 102
He waggit us out o' our rights,
And he waggit us out o' our law,
And he waggit us out o' our King—
O, that grieves me the warst of a'.

The tod rules o'er the lion,
The midden's aboon the moon,
And Scotland maun cower and cringe
To a fause and a foreign loon.
O walyfu' fa' the piper
That sells his wind sae dear,
And O walyfu' fa' the time
When Willie the wag came here.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

The Revolution Settlement and the Non-Jurors.

1689. *Reresby*, 440.

The next business was to get a Parliament, especially such a one as would confirm what the Convention had done; and because a new choice of members might prove hazardous in that respect, they agreed to convert this Convention into a Parliament. This they did by framing a Bill for that purpose in the House of Lords, first passing it there, then in the House of Commons, and at the last getting the
103 royal assent to it, which was easily compassed upon the 23rd of February.

A Parliament being thus obtained, they first proceeded to prepare several Bills, one for comprehension, another for the toleration of Protestant Dissenters. This was moved by my Lord Nottingham, seconded by some of the Bishops—more out of fear than love; another for raising forty-two thousand pounds by a tax upon land.

1689. *Ibid.*, 454.

April 11 was the day of the Coronation of King
104 William and Queen Mary, performed with great splendour according to the usual ceremonies.

Ibid., 455.

April 14.—King James continued all this while in
105 Ireland, the Kirk party in Scotland continuing to

oppose him in the Convention, they having declared the throne vacant of that kingdom. Soon after

WILLIAM III.

came the news that they had voted King William and Queen Mary King and Queen of Scotland, had

invited the English forces upon the borders into that kingdom, to assist them in [case of] any attempt of King James; but had prepared several conditions for the King to pass, one of which was that episcopacy should be no longer established in Scotland, and that the King thereof should be of the Presbyterian religion.

1689. *Reresby*, 440.

106 At home Parliament voted money. The Commons made an address to the King to declare war against France. There passed both Houses the Bill of Toleration for all Protestant Dissenters.

March 1, 1689. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 266.

107 I was fully satisfied I could not be absolved from the oaths I had taken, to which these new ones were contradictory; that having already taken the former oaths, my allegiance was due to King James, and not in my power to dispose of.

1689. *Reresby*, 445.

108 Five Bishops more took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, in addition to the three that had taken them on the 2nd of March, being the day appointed for swearing the members of both Houses. Most, if not all, the Commons did swear; but some of the Lords refused, and the greater number of the Bishops, from the principle that they thought it unlawful, having before taken oaths to King James.

March 9, 1689. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 268.

109 Lord Abingdon told me he had taken his leave of the King, and had spoken very freely to him;

he made great protestations to me, that if he had thought this revolution of Government would have happened, he would never have gone in to the Prince of Orange.

1689. *Reresby*, 451.

March 26.—The Archbishop of Canterbury all this while refused to swear or to come at all to the
110 House of Lords, not so much as owning the authority either of King or the Parliament.

1689. *Clarendon's Diary*, ii. 299.

December 31.—In the evening the Bishop of Ely was with me, and told me that a few days since the Bishops of London and St. Asaph had been with Lord Canterbury,* pressing to know what he and the rest could do to prevent being deprived. Could
111 they make no steps towards the Government? To all which the Archbishop answered that they could do nothing; if the King thought it fit for his own sake that they should not be deprived, he must make it his business; they could not vary from what they had done.

1690. *Ibid.*, 300.

Really, to hear clergymen in these days so varying in their practice from what themselves have formerly
112 taught, as if we were to change our principles as often as they change their humours, would give provocations.

* The Archbishop.

IRELAND.

1688. *Reresby*, 427.

My Lord Tyrconnel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, all this while continued firm to the King's interest with a great army of Papists; and my Lord
113 Inchiquin raised another of Protestants, and declared for the Prince and the Protestant religion, having taken Londonderry and some other strong towns in that kingdom.

December, 1688. *Luttrell*, i. 490.

Irish letters say that the Protestants in that kingdom are in a great confusion, many of them daily
114 leaving that kingdom; but that in the north they generally began to take up arms and to stand in their own defence.

1689. *Ibid.*, 500.

February.—Irish letters give but a bad account of the condition of the Protestants in that kingdom:
115 that they were disarmed and turned out of all; that Tyrconnel has got near an army of 40,000 men; that Colonel Hamilton will not return back.

1689. *Reresby*, 441, 442.

February 28.—[Danby] said that he was sorry to see things managed no better and with no more
116 expedition. Ireland was in a manner become invincible, by neglect not sending forces thither before, which he had pressed the King to so much that he was uncivil in pressing it. He seemed very earnest

for the legality of taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and condemned the Bishops who now scrupled at it, when their acting in some things and their indifference in others had so far contributed to this change of Government.

1689. *Luttrell*, i. 506.

117 *March*.—Orders are given for the speedy raising of 20,000 men for the service of Ireland.

1689. *Reresby*, 445.

March 4.—It was now more feared that King James was actually in Ireland, and that Scotland would take his part. Commissions were given out for the raising 10,000 foot. The French King had assisted James with fourteen ships of war, six less frigates, and three fire-ships, £200,000 in ready money,
118 with plate, tents, and a very loyal and splendid equipage. He furnished him with eight experienced officers, 100 other officers, 15,000 of his own subjects, 40,000 arms, cannon and ammunition in great abundance; but King James refused them, saying he would succeed by his own subjects, or perish in the attempt.

March 22, 1689. *Ibid.*, 450.

The truth is, King James lost his business by not
119 appearing sooner in Ireland, or rather in Scotland; but the winds were so contrary that he could not set out sooner from Brest.

KILLIECRANKIE.

1689. *Balcarres' Memoirs touching the Revolution*, 45-47.

The Viscount* resolved to secure the Castle of Blair, and about the end of July marched down to Atholl. When he came to the Castle of Blair he called a council of war, having intelligence that Mackay was entering by the narrow pass of Killiecrankie into that country. Many of the clans and other officers were for maintaining that pass, but the Viscount convinced them that in all appearance they never could have so fair an opportunity, Mackay having then only two troops of horse with him; but, if they delayed, he could soon bring up all the English horse and dragoons, which the Highlanders of all things most fear. This determined them, and it was resolved to suffer Mackay to enter the pass and to
120 fight him with half his number rather than stay till his cavalry had joined him. Mackay, having entered the pass without resistance, formed his army, of above 4,000 men, upon a plain, having a small river in his rear, upon the further side of which he placed his baggage.

The Viscount of Dundee encamped upon a heath the night before the battle, and was desirous before so bold an undertaking to have some symptoms that his Highlanders (after so long a peace) still retained the courage of their ancestors. For this end, while his men slept in their plaids, near the break of day, he caused a loud alarm to be made the enemy was at hand. The Highlanders instantly were roused, threw

* Dundee.

away their plaids, seized their arms, and ran to the front of their camp, drew up into order, then calmly stood, expecting the enemy. When the Viscount perceived this, and that not a man of them had retired, with full assurance he instantly began his march to meet the enemy. When he came to a height that overlooked the plain where Mackay was, he was much pleased to observe them drawn up in but one line and without any reserve; he assured his men they should beat them if they observed his orders. The posture of the enemy made him change the order of his battle; he formed his small army of near two thousand into three divisions, deep in file, with large intervals between them, that he might not be outflanked by Mackay, who was more than double his number, and of veteran troops. Having completed his disposition, which took some time, in the afternoon he marched down to the attack. The Highlanders suffered their fire with courage; then, when nearer, delivered their own, and with sword and targe rapidly broke through their line and fell upon their flanks and rear, so that in a moment the whole intervals of their extended front gave way and fled. The Viscount put himself at the head of his small body of horse. The Viscount advanced to attack their cannon, but thought Sir William [Wallace] advanced too slowly; he called to them to march, but Sir William not being so forward, the Earl of Dunfermline and some others left their ranks and followed the Viscount; with these he took the cannon before the rest came up. When he observed the foot beaten and horse fled, he rode towards a body of the Macdonalds in the rear, intending to make use of them to attack the regiments

of Hastings and Leven who were retiring unbroken from being not fronted; but, unhappily, while doing this he was by a distant shot mortally wounded; he attempted to return, but fell from his horse. Although the Highlanders had acted with order and intrepidity, yet unluckily when they came to the enemies' baggage it stopped their pursuit, and lost them part of the fruits of their victory, for Mackay and these two regiments got off. . . . General Mackay fled to Stirling, and arrived the next day with not above two hundred of his army; he had two thousand men killed upon the field, and near five hundred made prisoners. The victory was complete, but I must own your Majesty's affairs were undone by the irreparable loss of the Viscount of Dundee.

The Viscount Dundee to King James after the Battle of Killiecrankie.

1689. *Macpherson*, i. 372.

Sir,

It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it; but of five thousand men, which
121 was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above twelve hundred men. We have not lost full out nine hundred. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and the enemies' baggage, which I gave to the soldiers, who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands,

Lowlands and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this McKay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, sir, be more particular, but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurances for it, excepting the notorious rebels. Therefore, sir, for God's sake assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons, and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours.*

DUNDEE.

N.B. This letter is said to be a forgery.

KILLIECRANKIE.

1689. Mackay, 'Jacobite Songs,' 39, 40.

Whare ha'e ye been sae braw, lad?
Whare ha'e ye been sae brankie, O?
Whare ha'e ye been sae braw, lad?
Came ye by Killiecrankie, O?
An ye had been whare I ha'e been,
Ye wadna been sae cantie, O,
And ye had seen what I hae seen
I' the braes of Killiecrankie, O.

122

* He died next morning.

I faught at land, I faught at sea,
At hame I faught my auntie, O;
But I met the devil and Dundee
On the braes o' Killiecrankie, O;
An ye had been, etc.

The bauld Pitair fell in a furr,
And Clavers got a clankie, O,
Or I had fed an Athol gled
On the braes o' Killiecrankie, O.
An ye had been, etc.

O fie, Mackay, what gart ye lie
I' the bush ayont the brankie O?
Ye's better have kissed King Willie's loof
Than come to Killiecrankie, O.
It's nae shame, it's nae shame,
It's nae shame to shank ye, O;
There's sour slaes on Athol braes,
And deils at Killiecrankie, O.

Beachy Head.

1690. Mary to William: *Dalrymple*, iii. 73, 74.

The news is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast. I think Lord Torrington has made no haste. I cannot tell whether his being sick and staying for Lord Pembroke's regiment will be a
123 sufficient excuse. I am so little afraid that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland or this place, to me 'tis much at one as to the fear. For as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my poor carcass.

1690. Torrington to Caermarthen: *Dalrymple*, iii. 66.

Yesterday morning, according to Her Majesty's order, we engaged the enemy's fleet with the wind easterly, a fresh gale. We bore down upon them. The Dutch had the van. By that time we had fought two hours it fell calm, which was a great misfortune to us all, but most to the Dutch, who being most disabled, it gave the French an opportunity of destroying all their lame ships, which I hitherto have prevented by ordering them to anchor, falling with the red squadron by the help of the tide between all but one of their lame ships and the enemy. That single ship, for want of anchoring, is, without a mast, fallen into the power of the French. We rid within three miles of one another till the fleet came, and then weighed. The French rid fast,
124 which has given us the opportunity of getting about five leagues from the body of their fleet. We have the Dutch lame ships in tow, and will endeavour to get them into the river or Portsmouth. Several of the English ships are very much disabled, and have lost many men. Others have had better fortune, myself for one, for I have not lost many more than twenty men that I can yet hear of, and eight cannon dismounted by the enemy's shot, and a pretty many severe shot under water. Most of the officers behaved themselves very well, but the Dutch, in point of courage, to admiration.

That several of their [the French] ships have received damage is certain, for they have bore away from us. It is that makes me hope we shall be able to make our retreat good with our lame ships, which

is utterly impossible if they press on. It has been said they are ill-manned, but I do assure you the oldest seaman that lives never saw quicker firing.

1690. Mary to William: *Dalrymple*, iii. 84.

What Lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here. The letters from the fleet before and since the engagement show sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was
125 attributed to orders from hence. Those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than anything else, but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talked as if it was impossible they should be beaten.

Mary's Fears.

1690. Mary to William: *ibid.*, 127.

I never do anything without thinking now it may be you are in the greatest dangers, and yet I must see company upon my set days. I must play twice a week; nay, I must laugh and talk, though never so much against my will. I believe I dissemble very
126 ill to those who know me; at least, 'tis a great constraint to myself—yet I must endure it. All my motions are so watched that, if I eat less or speak less or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery added to that of your absence, and my fears for your dear person,

that I must grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppressed I can scarce breathe.

The Battle of the Boyne.

1690. Between 1705 and 1713. Burnet, ii. 50, 51.

King James himself was positive that they must stay and defend the Boyne. If they marched off and abandoned Dublin they would so lose their reputation that the people would leave them, and capitulate. It would also dispirit all their friends in England. Therefore he resolved to maintain the post he was in, and seemed not a little pleased to think that he should have one fair battle for his crown. He spoke of this with so much seeming pleasure that many about him apprehended that he was weary of the struggle, and even of life, and longed to see an end of it, at any rate; and they were
127 afraid that he would play the hero a little too much. He had all the advantages he could desire. The river was deep, and rose very high with the tide. There was a morass to be passed after the passing the river, and then a rising ground.

On the last of June the King came to the banks of the river, and as he was riding along and making a long stop in one place, to observe the grounds, the enemy did not lose their opportunity, but brought down two pieces of cannon. And with the first firing a ball passed along the King's shoulder, tore off some of his clothes, and about a hand-breadth of the skin, out of which about a spoonful of blood came, and that was all the harm it did him.

The King sent a great body of cavalry to pass the river higher, while he resolved to pass it in the face of the enemy, and the Duke of Schomberg was to pass it in a third place a little below him.

It was a complete victory, and those who were the least disposed to flattery said it was almost wholly due to the King's courage and conduct, and though he was a little stiff by reason of his wound, yet he was forced to quit his horse in the morass, and to go through it on foot ; but he came up in time to ride almost into every body of his army. He charged in many different places, and nothing stood before him. The Irish horse made some resistance, but the foot threw down their arms and ran away. The most amazing circumstance was that King James stayed all the while with his Guards at a safe distance, and never came into the places of danger or of action, but, when he saw his army was everywhere giving ground, was the first that ran for it, and reached Dublin before the action was quite over. The only allay to this victory was the loss of the Duke of Schomberg. He passed the river in his station, and was driving the Irish before him, when a party of desperate men set upon him as he was riding very carelessly with a small number about him. They charged, and in the disorder of that action he was shot. Thus, that great man, like another Epaminondas, fell on the day on which his side triumphed.

Mackay's 'Jacobite Songs,' 46.

Now a' is done that men can do,
An' a' is done in vain;
My love an' native land, farewell,
For I maun cross the main, my dear—
I maun cross the main.

He turned him right an' round about
Upon the Irish shore,
An ga'e his bridle-reins a shake,
With, Adieu for evermore, my dear—
With, Adieu for evermore.

128

The sodger frae the wars returns,
The sailors frae the main;
But I ha'e parted frae my love,
Never to meet again, my dear—
Never to meet again.

When day is gane, an' night is come,
An' a' folk bound to sleep,
I think on him that's far awa'
The lee-lang night, an' weep, my dear—
The lee-lang night, an' weep.

The Massacre of Glencoe.

1692. Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Carstairs, 239-245.

His Majesty's proclamation of indemnity was pub-
29 lished in August, 1691, offering a free indemnity and pardon to all the Highlanders, who had been in arms,

upon their coming in and taking the oath of allegiance betwixt that and the first of January thereafter. In compliance with the proclamation Glenco goes, about the end of December, 1691, to Colonel Hill, Governor of Fortwilliam at Inverlochy, and desired the Colonel to minister to him the oath of allegiance that he might have the King's indemnity; but Colonel Hill doth further depone* that he hastened him away all that he could, and gave him a letter to Ardkinglass to receive him as a lost sheep; and the Colonel produces Ardkinglass's answer, that he had endeavoured to receive the great lost sheep Glenco, and that Glenco had undertaken to bring in all his friends and followers as the Privy Council should order; and Ardkinglass further writes that he was sending to Edinburgh that Glenco, though he had mistaken in coming to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance, might yet be welcome; and that thereafter the Colonel should take care that Glenco's friends and followers may not suffer. Ardkinglass further depones that when he declined to give the oath of allegiance to Glenco because the last of December, the time appointed for the taking of it, was past, Glenco begged with tears that he might be admitted to take it, and promised to bring in all his people within a short time to do the like; and if any of them refused they should be improvised or sent to Flanders. Upon which he did administer to him the oath of allegiance upon the 6th of January, 1692, and sent a certificate thereof to Edinburgh, with Colonel Hill's letter to Colin Campbell, and further wrote to the said Colin that he should write back to him whether

* = testify

Glenco's taking the oath was allowed by the Council or not. . . . And Colin Campbell does further depone that he did by himself or his servant score or delete the certificate, as now it stands scored, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, and gave it in, so scored, or obliterate, to the clerk of the Council. But it doth not appear that the matter was brought to the Council-board, though it seems to have been intended by Ardkinglass, who both wrote himself and sent Colonel Hill's letter for to make Glenco's excuse, and desired to know the Council's pleasure.

After that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance he went home, and he not only lived there for some days, quietly and securely, but called his people together and told them he had taken the oath of allegiance and made his peace, and therefore desired and engaged them to live peaceably under King William's government. These things having preceded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the 13th of February, 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inverary, the slaughter was in this manner: Glenlyon, a Captain of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, and six score soldiers returned to Glenco about the 1st of February, where at their entry the elder brother John met them and demanded the reason of their coming, and Lindsay showed him his orders for quartering there under Colonel Hill's hand, and gave assurance that they were only come to quarter, and thereupon they were billeted in the country and had free quarters and entertainment, living familiarly with the people until the 13th of February. And Alexander depones that Glenlyon, being his wife's uncle, came

almost every day and took his morning drink at his house, and that the very night before the slaughter Glenlyon did play at cards in his own quarters with both his brothers. And John depones that old Glenco his father had invited Glenlyon to dine with him upon the very day the slaughter happened. But on the 13th of February, about four or five in the morning, Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where, having called in a friendly manner and got in, they shot his father dead, with several shots, as he was rising out of his bed; and the mother having got up and put on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth, as likewise they killed one man more, and wounded another grievously at the same place. John McDonald, eldest son to the deceased Glenco, depones: The same morning that his father was killed there came soldiers to his house before day, and called at his window, which gave him the alarm, and made him to go to Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered; and that he found Glenlyon and his men preparing their arms; but Glenlyon gave him good words, and said they were to march against some of Glengary's men; and if these were ill-intended, would not he have told Sandy and his niece, meaning the deponent's brother and his wife; which made the deponent go home and go again to his bed until his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him, and when he rose and went out he perceived about twenty men coming towards his house with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; whereupon he fled, and having Auchraion, a little village of Glenco, in

view, he heard the shots wherewith Auchintraiten and four more were killed, and that he heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more. . . . The same morning there was one Sergeant Barber laid hold on Auchintraiten's brother and asked him if he were alive. He answered that he was, and that he desired to die without rather than within. Barber said that, for his meat that he had eaten, he would do him the favour to kill him without; but when the man was brought out, and soldiers brought to shoot him, he, having his plaid loose, flung it over their faces, and so escaped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind them hand and foot, killed them one by one. And when Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of about twenty years of age, one Captain Drummond came and asked how he came to be saved, in respect of the orders that were given, and shot him dead. And another young boy of about thirteen years ran to Glenlyon to be saved: he was likewise shot dead; and in the same town there was a woman and a boy about four or five years of age killed. And at Auchraion, also, there was a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand. There were likewise several killed at other places, whereof one was an old man about eighty years of age. . . . And all five witnesses concur that the foresaid slaughter was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers after they had been quartered and lived peaceably and friendly with the men of Glenco about thirteen days, and that the number of those whom they knew to be slain were about twenty-five; and that the

soldiers after the slaughter did burn the houses, barns, and goods, and carried away a great spoil.

Responsibility for the Deed.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Carstairs, 248-254.

There were additional ones [instructions], supersigned and countersigned by His Majesty, and the date marked by Secretary Stair's hand, wherein all to be noticed to the present purpose is, that therein His Majesty doth judge it much better that these who took not the benefit of the indemnity in due time should be obliged to render upon mercy, they still taking the oath of allegiance, and then added: '*If Mackean of Glenco and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves.*' Of these additional instructions a principal duplicate
130 was sent to Sir Thomas Livingston, and another to Colonel Hill. And these were all the instructions given by the King in this matter. But Secretary Stair, by a letter written to Sir Thomas, says: 'You know in general that the troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochy will be ordered to take in the house of Invergarie, and to destroy entirely the county of Lochabar, Lochiel's Lands, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Glenco'; and then adds: 'I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners.' But this [another] letter of the 11th of January hath this expression: 'My Lord Argyle tells me that Glenco hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that

damnable sect—the worst of the Highlands.' Yet the execution and slaughter of the Glenco men did not immediately take effect, and thereafter on the 30th of January the Master of Stair doth again write two letters. 'I am glad that Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest. I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off. It must be quietly done; otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle.' And the other to Colonel Hill, which bears: 'Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, and otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose.' Sir Thomas Livingston, having got the King's instructions, with Secretary Stair's letter, writes to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton: 'Seeing that the orders are positive from Court to me not to spare any of them that have not timely come in, I desire you will begin with Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to him, but do not trouble the Government with prisoners.'

It is the opinion of the Commissioner that Secretary Stair's letters were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded, the King's instructions. Since the said letters . . . appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder. And this is farther confirmed by two more of his letters written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter was committed, wherein he continues: 'All that I regret is that any of the sort got away'; and another wherein he says:

'When you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble to vindicate yourself by showing all your orders. When you do right, you need fear nobody. All that can be said is that in the execution it was neither so full nor so far as might have been.'

Unpopularity and Insecurity of William.

1691. *From a memorial of Ferguson to James, Macpherson*, i. 390.

The Prince of Orange is mortally hated by the English. They see very fairly that he hath no love for them, neither doth he confide in them, but all in his Dutch. It is certainly known he hath brought over a great many foreigners this summer, and it's not doubted but the Parliament will not be for
131 foreigners to ride them with a caveson; and it's mightily in their heads that these foreigners were brought over to noose the Parliament. He is cursed daily by those of his Council, his bedchamber, and others that hath very good employments under him.

1691. *James' Memoirs*, i. 236.

Others were not discouraged from owning their inclination to return to their duty. To the King's great surprise, my Lord Churchill and my Lord
132 Godolphin themselves were of the number. It was supposed that the intention of these men were to save themselves, in case of a restoration, against the King's resentment. The success of France and the aversion of the English to the Prince of Orange

made a restoration appear an event not far distant. . . . Godolphin made open assurances to the King. He promised to resign. But it went against his conscience to betray his trust from any man. It had been happy had he been always so scrupulous.

1692. *James' Memoirs*, i. 241.

Many begin to be dissatisfied with the Prince of Orange's government. The violent current, which had borne down everything before it, abated. The hearts of many remained true, though their hands were tied. Every day cleared up more and more the dark and hidden contrivances which had pro-
133 duced the Resolution. The number of the King's friends increased daily. They proposed schemes for his restoration. The correspondence with Churchill was kept up. There was some cause to believe him, as both he and his mistress, the Princess of Denmark, were out of favour with the Prince of Orange.

Ibid., 242, 243.

Admiral Russell still pretended to be in the King's interest. He advised him, if he wished to reign as a Catholic King over a Protestant people, he must forget the past and grant a general pardon; and that, as for him, he made no stipulations for himself,
134 saying it was the public good and no private advantages that made him enter this affair. He told him, therefore, that if he met the French fleet he would fight it, were even the King himself on board. But that the method he proposed to serve the King was by going out of the way with the English fleet.

This was an odd way to restore the King, by fighting him. He, however, meant nothing but advantage to himself, as the preparations of the French fleet made a restoration probable. Had the French passed by accident or prevailed by force, he could have made a merit of serving the King, and should the contrary happen, he could easily keep his credit with the present Government.

Change of Ministry.

Whig Government.

March, 1693. *Luttrell*, iii. 60.

His Majesty hath dismissed Sir John Trevor, etc., from being Commissioners of the Great Seals, and Sir John Somers, being last night called into Council,
135 was told by the Lord President that His Majesty, being satisfied of his integrity and abilities, pitched upon him to be Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and that he would admit of no excuse, and accordingly was declared Lord Keeper.

Ibid., 67.

136 *April* 1.—Admiral Russell kissed the King's hand for the government of the Isle of Wight.

Ibid., 71.

137 *April* 6.—Sir Cloudesley Shovel is made one of the Commissioners of the Navy.

Lord Capel, *Dalrymple*, 56.

138 Upon Admiral Russell's sending me word that he had accepted being employed for the ensuing year,

my hopes were great; but then at the end of the letter telling me my Lord Shrewsbury had refused the Seals, set aside all comfort.

Capel to Russell: *Dalrymple*, iii. 57.

I am not surprised that 'tis obedience to advice that makes you accept the honour the King has conferred upon you; but I am infinitely surprised at my Lord Shrewsbury,* who has been often blamed by men of prudence as a person quite unintelligible, and I doubt the world will have reason to think so.
139 We have been often blamed as men contented with nothing; and if the Church, the fleet, the law, the army (in regard to Talmasch's great station), and the offering of both seals to be in the hands of our friends (the obstacle to common safety, my Lord Nottingham, being removed) will not give content, what must—nay, what will the world say of us?

The Failure against Brest.

1694. *James' Memoirs*, i. 245.

The King† sends again to Admiral Russell. He declared he had the same goodwill, but he refused to go out of the way. The Lord Churchill wrote to
140 the King. He advised him to bring with him 25,000 men, and arms for 7,000. He wrote also a letter dated February 28, 1694. He told him that Lord Shrewsbury was so pressed to receive his former office of Secretary that he was afraid he could not

* James said of him in 1692: 'The Earl of Shrewsbury laid down his employment by his orders' (*Memoirs*, i. 435).

† 'The King' throughout these passages is James II.

resist. But though he altered his condition, he assured him that he could not alter his inclination.

CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Yet Churchill himself was the adviser of Shrewsbury, hoping he would do himself the same good turn. He told the King that he himself was solicited to

come into office, but that he would do nothing without the King's consent. On May 4 the Lord Churchill gave notice to the King of the design upon Brest.

1694. *A translation of Churchill's letter, Macpherson*, i. 487.

It is only to-day I have learned the news I now write to you, which is, that the bomb-ketches and the twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with the two regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmash, are destined for burning the harbour of Brest, and destroying all the men-of-war which are there. This will be a great advantage to
141 England.

But no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent, me from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore, you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true.

But I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know it but the Queen and the bearer of this letter.

1694. The King to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 45, 46.

I am indeed extremely affected with the loss of poor Tollemache, for, although I do not approve of
142 his conduct, yet I am of opinion that his too-ardent zeal to distinguish himself induced him to attempt what was impracticable.

1694. Shrewsbury to the King: *ibid.*, 47.

143 It is impossible to forget the probability and conveniency of Your Majesty's receiving my Lord Marl-

borough into your favour.* He has been with me since this news to offer his service with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful that single argument makes me not doubt it.

1694. William to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 53.

As to what you wrote in your last letter concern-
144 ing Lord Marlborough, I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops.

Battle of Steinkirk.

1692. 1728. Carleton's Memoirs, 47-49.

Soon after this happened that memorable battle at Steenkirk. The undertaking was bold, and, as many thought, bolder than was consistent with the character of the wise undertaker.

Nevertheless, the French having taken Namur, and, as the malcontents alleged, in the very sight of a superior army, and nothing having been done by
145 land at any moment, things were blown into such a dangerous fermentation by a malicious and lying spirit that King William found himself under a necessity of attempting something that might appease the murmurs of the people. He knew very well that it was not true that his forces at the siege of Namur exceeded those of the enemy. No man could be more afflicted than he at the overflowing of the

* Marlborough's treachery has been supposed to be due to a desire to get rid of his rival, Talmash.

Mehaigne, which obstructed the relief he had designed for that important place. Yet, since his maligners insinuate[d] that he had no mind to put an end to the war, he was resolved to evince the contrary.

Receiving intelligence that the Duke of Luxemburg lay strongly encamped at Steenkirk, near Enghien, though he was sensible he must pass through many defiles to engage him, and that the many thickets between the two armies would frequently afford him new difficulties, he resolved there to attack him. Our troops at first were forced to hew out their passage for the horse, and there was no one difficulty that his imagination had drawn that was lessened by experience; and yet so prosperous were his arms at the beginning that our troops had made themselves masters of several pieces of the enemy's cannon. But the farther he advanced, the ground growing straiter—so strait as not to admit his armies being drawn up in battalia—the troops behind could not give timely succour to those engaged, and the cannon we had taken was forcibly left behind, in order to make a good retreat. The French had lost all their courage in the onset, for, though they had too fair an opportunity, they did not think fit to pursue it, or, at least, did it very languidly. However, the malcontents at home, I remember, grew very well pleased after this, for, so long as they had but a battle for their money, like true Englishmen, lost or won, they were contented. Several causes were assigned for this miscarriage. Some were willing to lay it upon the Dutch, and allege a saying of their General's, who, receiving

orders to relieve some English and Scotch that were overpowered, was heard to say: 'Damn 'em! since they love fighting, let 'em have their bellies full.' I should rather impute the disappointment to the loss of so many of our bravest officers at the very first onset.

Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman.

Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, 1742.

The beginning of the Princess's kindness for me had a much earlier date than my entrance into her service. We had used to play together when she was a child, and she even then expressed a particular fondness for me. In all her parties for amusement I was sure, by her choice, to be one; and so desirous she became of having me always near her, that upon her marriage with the Prince of Denmark, in 1683, at her own request, I was made one of the Ladies of her bedchamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable
146 to her in this station was doubtless the dislike she had conceived to most of the other persons about her, and particularly to her First Lady of the Bedchamber, the Countess of Clarendon, for she looked like a madwoman and talked like a scholar. Kings and Princes for the most part imagine they have a dignity familiar to their birth and station, which ought to raise them above all connection of friendship with an inferior. . . . The Princess had a different taste. A friend was what she most coveted. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank, nor could she bear from me the sound

of words which implied in them distance and superiority. It was this turn of mind which made her one day propose to me that, whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names, such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. Morley and Freeman were the names her fancy hit upon, and she left me to choose by which of them I would be called. My frank, open temper naturally led me to pitch upon Freeman, and so the Princess took the other; and from this time Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman began to converse as equals, made so by affection and friendship.

Anne's Relations to the King and Queen.

Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, 1742.

On the arrival of Queen Mary in England, the Princess of Denmark went to meet her, and there was a great appearance of kindness between them. But this quickly wore off, and a visible coldness ensued, which I believe was partly occasioned by the persuasion the King had that the Prince and Princess had been of more use to him than they
147 were ever like to be again, and partly by the different characters and humours of the two sisters. The Princess continued to pay all imaginable respect to the King and Queen, but this did not hinder Her Majesty from expressing a great deal of displeasure when some steps were made in Parliament towards settling a revenue on the Prince and Princess. Taking her sister one night to task for it, she

asked her: 'What was the meaning of these proceedings?' To which the Princess answered: 'She heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement.' The Queen hastily replied with a very imperious air: 'Pray, what friends have you but the King and me?' The affair went on so well in the House of Commons that her friends were encouraged to propose for her a much larger revenue than was at last obtained, to prevent which the King prorogued the Parliament. The business, however, was resumed again at the next meeting, and then 'all possible endeavours were used to engage me by flattery and fear to dissuade the Princess from the pursuit of a settlement. Sometimes she [Lady Fitzharding] attacked me on the side of my own interest, telling me that, if I would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the ruin of my Lord, and consequently of all our family.' I need not tell you that the Princess carried her point, and that £50,000 was settled by Parliament; for, when the King found that he could not persuade her to an entire dependency on him, he compounded the matter with her friends upon these terms to hinder their insisting on a larger settlement. The success of the affair was chiefly imputed to the steadiness and diligence of my Lord Marlborough and me, both by those to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her to whose happiness it was then so necessary.

Notwithstanding all these things, the Queen and Princess lived in appearance for some time after as if nothing had happened, till the King was pleased (without publicly assigning any particular reason) to

remove my Lord Marlborough from all his employments. His Majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell him that he had no more occasion for his service. I think it is not to be doubted that the principal cause of the King's message was the Court's dislike that anybody should have so much interest with the Princess as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the King and Queen. The Queen wrote to her sister: 'Never anybody was suffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's circumstances. I need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it. I now tell you that, after this, it is very unfit that Lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not.' The Princess returned an answer: 'Your Majesty was in the right to think your letter would be very surprising to me, for you must needs be sensible enough of the kindness I have for my Lady Marlborough to know that a command from you to part with her must be the greatest mortification in the world to me.' To this the Princess received no answer but a message from my Lord Chamberlain to forbid my continuing any longer at the Cockpit. The Princess resolved to leave the Cockpit. Soon after a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere—I don't know where—in a flower-pot, and my Lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower. Whether my Lord Marlborough's conspiracy was what the Queen meant in her letter to the Princess I know not. My Lord Devonshire, my Lord Bradford, and the late

Duke of Montague, thought it infamous to send my Lord Marlborough to prison upon such evidence; and therefore, when the warrant for his commitment came to be signed at the Council-table, they refused to put their hands to it, though at that time they had no particular friendship for him. Lord Shrews-

MARY (WILLIAM AND MARY).

bury, Lord Burlington, Lord Carberry, and Lord Halifax, were to be bail for my Lord Marlborough. I told him [Mr. Maul] Lord Marlborough had friends who would bail him, but that one of his best friends was a paper that lay upon the table which I had often kissed—'The Act of Habeas Corpus.'

During the time of the Queen's illness the Princess sent every day to inquire how she did, and once I am sure Her Majesty heard of it, to which the Queen returned no answer but a cold thanks.

Upon the death of the Queen the Princess, by the advice of my Lord Sunderland, wrote to the King: 'It is my earnest desire Your Majesty would give me leave to wait upon you.' The King had sense enough to know that it would be impossible to continue any longer an open difference with the Princess without exposing himself to daily slights, for he could not hope that the nobility of England would be hindered from paying respect to a Princess who was next heir to him by Act of Parliament, and who, if title by blood had taken place, would have had the Crown before him; and he was well aware that everybody who had a mind to show they did not care for him would certainly do it by making their court to her. Quickly after this letter, therefore, the Princess, with the King's consent, waited on him at Kensington, and was received with extraordinary civility. I never heard of anybody who opposed this reconciliation except my Lord Portland, but the person who wholly managed the affair was my Lord Sunderland.

Death of Queen Mary.

January 1, 1695. Shrewsbury to Russell: *Coxe*, 218.

Certainly there never was anyone more really and
148 universally lamented; the King particularly has been dejected by it beyond what could be imagined.

The Queen's Death.

To William III. going to the War.

1695. *Matthew Prior.*

At Mary's tomb (sad, sacred place!)
The Virtues shall their vigils keep,
And every Muse and every Grace
In solemn state shall ever weep.

For her the wise and great shall mourn
When late records her deeds repeat;
Ages to come and men unborn
Shall bless her name and sigh her fate.

But let the King dismiss his woes,
Reflecting on his fair renown,
And take the cypress from his brow
149 To put his wonted laurels on.

Embattled Princes wait the chief
Whose voice should rule, whose arm should lead,
And in kind murmurs chide that grief
Which hinders Europe being freed.

See, pious King, with different strife
The struggling Albion's bosom torn;
So much she fears for William's life
That Mary's fate she dare not mourn.

Her beauty, in the softer half
Buried and lost, she ought to grieve
But let her strength in thee be safe,
And let her weep, but let her live.

Thou, guardian angel, save the land
From thy own grief, her fiercest foe,
Lest Britain, rescued by thy hand,
Should bend and sink beneath thy woe.

Her former triumphs all are vain,
Unless new trophies still be sought,
And hoary Majesty sustain
The battles which thy youth has fought.

Go, mighty Prince! let France be taught
How constant minds by grief are tried;
How great the land, that wept and fought
When William led and Mary died.

The Peace of Ryswick.

1696. Shrewsbury to William: *Coxe*, 126.

It is certain, as your Majesty observes, that a
150 peace is much discoursed of; a good one everybody would desire, and many are so weary as to be content with a bad one.

1696. William to Shrewsbury: *ibid.*, 127.

151 I have now only bad news to impart: we have certainly lost the Duke of Savoy, who has tricked us.

Shrewsbury to William: *ibid*, 128.

When I consider our own condition at home—encompassed by so many difficulties from the ruin
152 of all credit, the scarcity of money, the deficiency in the supply for restoring the coin, and other anticipations—I dare confidently affirm no remedy

so speedy and effectual can be found as will put the nation in a capacity the next year to furnish such sums as have been given in former sessions. A willing Parliament may pass Acts, but I fear the money can neither be raised nor borrowed. The resolution—whether a peace upon such terms, as it is now reasonable to expect from France, be to be wished or no—is attended with so many considerations beyond my search and so many circumstances out of my knowledge that it would be too great presumption in me to speak on that subject. I cannot see that a town, more or less, is very material to your Majesty's interest.

1696. William to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 132.

I have no fears of any further defection after the base conduct of the Duke of Savoy; but I do not think we can oblige the allies to accept of the offer of peace made by France, unless we force them.
153 May God relieve us from our present embarrassment! for I cannot suppose that it is His will to suffer a nation to perish which He has so often almost miraculously saved, though we have too well deserved it.

1697. William to Shrewsbury: *Grimblot*, i. 52.

154 I can tell you news that will not be unpleasant to you, which is that I believe peace is very near.

1696. Villiers to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 320.

I hear that M. Dykwelt has had several conferences
155 with M. Callières, and is to meet the King at Breda; but I suppose there are no more difficulties very

material, for I am told that Spain has already notice to prepare Ambassadors to treat. My Lord, though I do not write what you should not know, your Grace will not think fit that anybody else should know that I do it.

October, 1696. The same to the same: *Coxe*, 326.

There will not be much difficulty in the rest of Callières' declaration as to the preliminaries. I will take the liberty to repeat it: The treaties of Westphalia and Niemeguen; His Majesty to be acknowledged; Strasbourg to be restored in the condition it
156 was when France took it; Luxemburg in the state it now is; all in general to be restored that has been taken by the reunions since the Peace of Niemeguen. When the place is agreed upon, Callières is required to dictate to the mediator the declaration as I have stated it.

November, 1696. The same to the same: *ibid.*, 328.

I am sorry to tell your Grace that the French
157 *chicanent* every day more and more.

December, 1696. The same to the same: *ibid.*, 330.

Callières has changed his note, and acknowledges his orders to own the King [William]. I am of
158 opinion we shall not soon go to a place of treaty. The King and States have a mind to conclude as much of the affair as they can in this private manner.

December 14. The same to the same: *ibid.*, 331.

I do not apply myself to you as a Secretary of
159 State, but I wish you would contrive that instructions

may be given for what concerns our nation in the treaty. I may venture to tell your Grace that our friends* here are not backward in what concerns themselves, though I dare not tell it to anybody else.

May, 1697. Villiers to Shrewsbury : *Coxe*, 336.

160 Yesterday our Congress was opened at Ryswick.

July, 1697. The same to the same : *Grimblot*, i. 26.

Marshal Boufflers has lately had a meeting with my Lord Portland near Halle. I am told that it
161 was about the peace, though I do not know the particulars.

1697. Williamson to Shrewsbury : *Coxe*, 347.

We find, by the account of what passed between my Lord Portland and M. de Boufflers, that His Majesty did resolve to push the thing to a point by declaring his real desires for a peace and his resolu-
162 tions, if it could not be had, no longer to be amused† with a pretended negotiation at Ryswick ; but on the other hand to put it hard and plain upon France, to discover how far all this pretence on their side is well and sincere.

1697. Villiers to Shrewsbury : *Coxe*, 350.

The French, according to their promise, gave in their project of peace to the allies last Saturday.
163 You will find it to be in the foot of that of Nimeguen. I believe we shall not get better terms from them.

* The Dutch. † Deceived.

1697. Shrewsbury to Villiers : *Coxe*, 356.

It will be counted one of the greatest actions of
164 His Majesty's life to have settled that in a fortnight, by a method of his own, which he saw could not have been concluded in many months at Ryswick.

1697. Portland to Shrewsbury : *Grimblot*, i. 125.

I congratulate you that peace is at length made, such as it is; for, in my opinion, though it is not much to the advantage of France, yet we might
165 have made it in a better manner, without permitting France to assume that haughty demeanour which she has manifested since August, had we not testified an immoderate desire, and even a necessity, of making this peace.

September, 1697. Villiers to Shrewsbury : *Coxe*, 374.

At last it was made, against the will of most of our allies; but peace never was the design of the Germans, but to keep England and Holland in an expensive
166 war whilst they made the best market they could of their troops. A point of honour had like to have made us their dupes, but Providence has taken better care of us.

Disbanding the Army.

1697. William to Henry Heinsius : *Grimblot*, i. 139.

I perceive that the project of maintaining troops
167 in the country during peace will meet with more difficulties than I expected.

1698. William to Heinsius: *Grimblot*, 148.

You cannot form an idea of the indifference with which foreign affairs are now considered. People
168 here only busy themselves about a fanciful liberty, while they are forced to acknowledge that they never were so free and have nothing to apprehend from me.

February, 1698. William to Heinsius: *ibid*, 184.

The people here are now so foolishly engrossed
169 with themselves that they do not pay the least attention to what is going on in foreign countries.

1698. Tallard to Louis XIV.: *ibid.*, ii. 216, 217.

The House of Commons has acted as in a fury. It hastily determined to cashier the army; not to allow any foreigner in the three kingdoms; and permits only 7,000 men in England, including the
170 officers, all native English; 12,000 in Ireland, either Irish or Scotch; and 6,000 in Scotland. The affair passed in such a fury that no person of the Court party could be listened to.

1698. Somers to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 573.

This has put the King upon great extremities in his purposes. I have not acquainted you with his resolution sooner, because I thought it need not be taken up in good earnest. His resolution is to come
171 to the Parliament and tell them that he came over to rescue the nation from the ruin impending over them. That now they had peace, and might provide for their own safety; that he saw they were entertaining

jealousies and distrusts of him, so as not to know what was necessary for themselves; that he was therefore determined to leave England.

1699. William to Galway: *Dalrymple*, iii. 180.

It is not to be conceived how people here are set
172 against the foreigners. You will easily judge on whom this reflects.

Sunderland.

1693. 1705-1713. Burnet, ii. 123.

The person that had the King's confidence to the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by
173 his long experience and his knowledge of man and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had.

1696. Admiral Russell to Shrewsbury: *Coxe*, 388.

I cannot bring my tongue nor countenance to seem satisfied with a man I am not. You say he is very much for us [the Whigs]. It was plain that was his design to appear when he writ about coming hither, and complaining of some friend of his wanting friendship. 'It is an old saying when the fox is
174 abroad look to your lambs.' No man is ever secure from his tricks; but he can play none very prejudicial if he be not too much trusted and relied upon. If I had Lord Marlborough's art I could use him in his own way; but I will do my best to learn as much as I can from my lord, and not let him know my thoughts.

1697. 1705 1713. Burnet, ii. 207.

175 The Earl of Sunderland had argued with many upon the necessity for keeping up a greater force.

ROBERT, EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

He was charged as the author of the counsel of keeping on foot a standing army. The Tories pressed hard upon him, and the Whigs were so jealous of

him that he, apprehending that while the former would attack him the others would defend him faithfully, resolved to retire from business.

Speaker Onslow, note to the above.

Some of his friends told him they had computed the numbers in the House of Commons upon any address against him, and that they did not think there would be more than 160 for it. 'One hundred and sixty,' said he, 'for it! That is more than any man can stand against long. I am sure I won't;' and so resigned his staff and key next day.

The Darien Scheme.

1698. 1705-1713. Burnet, ii. 216.

The company in Scotland this year sent out a fleet, with a colony, on design to settle in America. The secret was better kept than could have been well expected, considering the many hands in which it was lodged. It appeared at last that the true design had been guessed from the first motion of it. They landed at Darien, which, by the report they sent
76 over, was capable of being made a strong place, with a good port. It was no wonder that the Spaniards complained loudly of this; it lay so near Porte Bello and Panama on the one side, and Carthagena on the other, that they could not think they were safe when such a neighbour came so near the centre of their empire in America. The King of France complained also of this, as an invasion of the Spanish dominion, and offered the Court of Madrid a fleet to dislodge them. This was a breach of treaties, and a violent

possession of their country. It was given out that there was much gold in the country. Certainly the nation was so full of hopes from this project that they raised a fund for carrying it on, greater than, as was thought, that kingdom could stretch to. A national fury seemed to have transported the whole kingdom upon this project.

1699. Burnet, 234, 235.

All men were full of hopes that their new colony should bring them home mountains of gold. The proclamations sent to Jamaica and to the other English plantations were much complained of as acts of hostility and a violation of the common rights of humanity. These had a great effect on them, though without these that colony was too weak and too ill-supplied, as well as too much divided within itself, to have subsisted long. Those who had first possessed themselves of it were forced to abandon it. Soon after they had gone from it a
177 second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland, but one of their ships unhappily took fire in which they had the greatest stock of provisions, and so these likewise went off; and though the third reinforcement that soon followed this was both stronger and better furnished, yet they fell into such factions among themselves that they were too weak to resist the Spaniards, and capitulated; and with that the whole design fell to the ground. The conduct of the King's Ministers in Scotland was much censured in the whole progress of this affair; for they had connived at it, if not encouraged it, in hopes that the design would fall of itself; but now

it was not so easy to cure the universal discontent which the miscarriage of this design had raised and which now spread like a contagion among all sorts of people. A petition for a present session of Parliament was immediately sent about the kingdom, and was signed by many thousands. This was sent up by some of the chief of their nobility, whom the King received very coldly; yet a session of Parliament was granted them. Great pains were taken, by all sorts of practices, to be sure of a majority Great offers were made them in order to lay the discontent, which ran then very high. A law for a Habeas Corpus, with a great freedom of trade, and everything that they could demand, was offered to persuade them to desist from pursuing the design upon Darien. The Court had tried to get the Parliament of England to interpose in that matter, and to declare themselves against that undertaking. The House of Lords was prevailed on to make an address to the King, representing the ill-effects that they apprehended from that settlement; but they did not signify much, for as it was carried in the House by a small majority of seven or eight, so it was laid aside by the House of Commons. Some were not ill-pleased to see the King's affairs run into an embroilment, and others did apprehend that there was a design to involve the two kingdoms in a national quarrel, that by such an artifice a greater army might be raised. So they let that matter fall; nor would they give any entertainment to a Bill that was sent them by the Lords, in order to a treaty for the union of both kingdoms. The managers in the House of Commons, who opposed the Court, resolved to do

nothing that should provoke Scotland or that should take any part of the blame or general discontent that soured that nation off from the King. It was further given out, to raise the national disgust yet higher, that the opposition the King gave to the Scotch colony flowed neither from a regard to the interests of England nor to the treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who from Curaçoa drove a coasting trade among the Spanish plantations, which, they said, the Scotch colony would draw wholly from them. These things were set about that nation with great industry. In the session of Parliament it was carried by a vote to make the affair of Darien a national concern. Upon that the session was for some time discontinued. When the news of the total abandoning of Darien was brought over, it cannot be well expressed into how bad a temper this cast the body of that people. They had now lost about £200,000 sterling upon this project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it. So the nation was raised into a sort of a fury upon it, and in the first heat of that a remonstrance was sent about the kingdom for hands, representing to the King the necessity of a present sitting of the Parliament, which was drawn in so high a strain as if they had resolved to pursue the effects of it by an armed force.

The Spanish Succession.

The Partition Treaty.

1698. William to Lord Chancellor Somers: *Grimblot*, ii. 121.

I imparted to you, before I left England, that in
178 France there was expressed to my Lord Portland some inclination to come to an agreement with us

LORD SOMERS.

concerning the succession of the King of Spain; since which Count Tallard has mentioned it to me, and has made propositions, the particulars of which my Lord Portland will write to Vernon, to whom I

have given orders not to communicate them to any other besides yourself, and to leave to your judgment to whom else you would think proper to impart them, to the end that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and one which requires the greatest secrecy. If it be fit this negotiation should be carried on, there is no time to be lost, and you will send me the full powers under the Great Seal, with the names in blank, to treat with Count Tallard. I believe this may be done secretly, that none but you and Vernon and those to whom you shall have communicated it may have knowledge of it, so that the clerks, who are to write the warrant and the full powers, may not know what it is. According to all intelligence, the King of Spain cannot outlive the month of October, and the least accident may carry him off every day.

Death of the Electoral Prince.

1699. William to Heinsius : *Grimblot*, ii. 260.

Count Tallard has been with me and the Earl of Portland to-day. He says he has received an express from his Court with the news of the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and assures us they have the same feelings as when the treaty was made,
179 but seems to insinuate that the secret article ceases, which, in my opinion, is the case, having read it over with attention, so that new engagements must be entered upon, in which I foresee no small difficulty, and about which I should be very glad to learn your sentiments.

Acceptance of the Will of Charles II. by Louis XIV.

1700. William to Heinsius: *Grimblot*, ii. 476, 479.

Yesterday I received an express from my Ambassador in France with the enclosed memorial.

I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding of France will surprise you as much as it did me.

I never relied much on engagements with France, but must confess I did not think they would, on this occasion, have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty before it was well accomplished.

The motives alleged in the annexed memorial are so shameful that I cannot conceive how they can have the effrontery to produce such a paper. We must confess we are dupes; but if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man.

180 The worst is it brings us into the greatest embarrassment, particularly when I consider the state of affairs here, for the blindness of the people here is incredible.

For though this affair is not public, yet it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou than it was the general opinion that it was better for England that France should accept the will than fulfil the Treaty of Partition.

I am perfectly persuaded that if this will be executed England and the Republic* are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined. I will hope that the Republic understands it thus, and will exert her whole force to oppose so great an evil.

It is the utmost mortification to me in this im-

* Holland.

portant affair that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite and set a good example; but the Republic must do it, and I will engage people here by a prudent conduct by degrees and without perceiving it.

I confess I think vigour is necessary on this occasion, and hope it is to be found in the Republic, in case the Emperor shall maintain his right.

If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all Courts to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good, not being able to play any other game with these people than engaging them imperceptibly.

Death and Character of James II.

1701. 1705-1713. *Burnet*, ii. 292.

King James died on September 6. He was a Prince that seemed made for greater things. He was esteemed in the former parts of his life a man of great courage, as he was quite through it a man of great applications to business. He had no vivacity of thought, invention, or expression; but he had a
181 good judgment where his religion or his education gave him not a bias, which it did very often. He was bred with strange notions of the obedience due to Princes. He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and justice; but his religion was so infused in him, and he was so managed in it by his priests, that the principles which Nature had laid in him had little power over him when the concerns of his

Church stood in the way. He was a gentle master, and was very easy to all who came near him; yet he was not so apt to pardon as one ought to be that is the viceregent of God. He had no personal vices but of one sort: he was still wandering from one amour to another. Yet he had a real sense of sin, and was ashamed of it. But priests know how to engage Princes more entirely into their interests, by making them compound for their sins by a great zeal for Holy Church, as they call it. In a word, if it had not been for his popery, he would have been, if not a great, yet a good Prince. By what I once knew of him, and by what I saw him afterwards carried to, I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion which I was always apt to have of the intrigues of the popish clergy and of the confessors of Kings. He was undone by them, and was their martyr, so that they ought to bear the chief load of all the errors of his inglorious reign and of its fatal catastrophe.

Recognition of the Pretender by Louis XIV.

1701. 1713-1705. Burnet, ii. 293.

Upon his* death, it was debated in the French Council what was fit to be done with relation to his pretended son. The Ministry† advised the King‡ to
182 be passive, and let him assume what title he pleased, but that, for some time at least, the King should not declare himself. This might be some restraint on the King of England, whereas a present declaration

* James II. † French. ‡ Louis XIV.

must precipitate a rupture. But the Dauphin interposed, with some heat, for the present* owning him King. He thought the King was bound in honour to do it. He was of his blood, and was driven away on the account of his religion. So orders were given to proclaim him at St. Germains. Soon after this the King of Spain owned him, so did the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy; and the King of France pressed all other Princes to do it in whose Courts he had Ministers, and prevailed on the Pope to press the Emperor and other Popish Princes to own him, though without effect. The King looked upon this as an open violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, and he ordered the Earl of Manchester to leave that Court without asking an audience. The French pretended that the bare owning of his title, since they gave him no assistance to make good his claim, was not a breach of the treaty; but this could not pass on the world, since the owning his right was a plain declaration that they would assist him in claiming it whensoever the state of his affairs should allow of it.

This gave a universal distaste to the whole English nation. All people seemed possessed with a high indignation upon it to see a foreign Power that was at peace with us pretend to declare who ought to be our King.

Dissolution of Parliament.

1701. 1705-1713. Burnet, ii. 295.

183 The first thing that fell under debate upon his† return was whether the Parliament should be con-

* Immediate. † William.

tinued or dissolved and a new one called. Some of the leading men of the former Parliament had been secretly asked how they thought they would proceed if they should meet again. Of these, while some answered doubtfully, others said positively they would begin where they had left off, and would insist on their impeachments. The new Ministry struggled hard against a dissolution, and when they saw the King resolved on it, some of them left his service.

The heats in elections increased with every new summons. This was thought so critical a conjuncture that both sides exerted their full strength. Most of the great counties and the chief cities chose men that were zealous for the King and Government; but the rotten part of our constitution—the small boroughs—were in many places wrought on to choose bad men. Upon the whole, however, it appeared that a clear majority were in the King's interests, yet the activity of the angry side was such that they had a majority of choosing the Speaker and in determining controverted elections; but in matters of public concern things went on as the King desired and as the interest of the nation required. He [the King] said that he had entered into some alliances pursuant to the addresses of the last Parliament, and was negotiating some others, all which should be laid before them, and this was accordingly done. Both Houses began with addresses, in which they did very fully renounce the Prince of Wales. The House of Lords ordered that all such as were willing to do it should sign the address that was entered into their books.

Death and Character of William III.

1702. 1705-1713. Burnet, ii. 304-307.

Thus lived and died William III., King of Great Britain and Prince of Orange. He had a thin and weak body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate constitution; he had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a large front, and a countenance composed to gravity and authority: all his senses were critical and exquisite. He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough. His behaviour was solemn and serious, seldom cheerful, and but with a few. He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle, for then he was all fire, though without
184 passion. He was then everywhere, and looked to everything. He had no great advantage from his education. De Witt's discourses were of great use to him, and he, being apprehensive of the observation of those who were looking narrowly into everything he said or did, had brought himself under a habitual caution that he could never shake off, though in another sense it proved as hurtful as it was necessary to his affairs. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German equally well; and he understood the Latin, Spanish, and Italian, so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him. He was an exact observer of men and things. His strength lay rather

in a true discerning and a sound judgment than in imagination or invention. His designs were always great and good, but it was thought he trusted too much to that, and that he did not defer enough to the humours of his people to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them. This, in a Government that has so much of freedom in it as ours, was more necessary than he was inclined to believe. His reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him. But he had observed the errors of too much talking, more of those of too cold a silence. He did not like contradiction, nor to have his actions censured; but he loved to employ and favour those who had the arts of complacence, yet he did not love flatterers. His genius lay chiefly to war, in which his courage was more admired than his conduct. Great errors were often committed by him, but his heroical courage set things right, as it inflamed those who were about him. He was too lavish of money on some occasions both in his buildings and to his favourites, but too sparing in rewarding services or in encouraging those who brought intelligence. He was apt to take ill-impressions of people, and these stuck long with him. He gave way too much to his own humour almost in everything, not excepting that which related to his own health. He knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every Court in Europe very particularly. He instructed his own Ministers himself, but he did not apply enough to affairs at home. He tried how he could govern us by balancing the two parties one against another; but he came at last to be persuaded that the Tories were irreconcilable

to him, and he was resolved to try and trust them no more.

His indifference as to the forms of Church government and his being zealous for toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill-impressions of him. In his deportment towards all about him, he seemed to make little distinction between the good and the bad, and those who served well or those who served him ill. He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved among them. But the ill-returns he met from the English nation, their jealousies of him and their perverseness towards him, had too much soured his mind, and had in a great measure alienated him from them, which he did not take care enough to conceal, though he saw the ill-effects this had upon his business.

He died in a critical time for his own glory, since he had formed a great alliance, and had projected the whole scheme of the war, so that if it succeeds a great part of the honour of it will be ascribed to him; and if otherwise, it will be said he was the soul of the alliance, that did both animate and knit it together, and that it was natural for that body to die and fall asunder when he who gave it life was withdrawn.

William's Isolation.

1698. '*Memorandum on the Affairs of England*': *Grimblot*, ii. 191.

His [William's] chief characteristic is great dis-
185 trust, so that very few persons, even among those who are in office, are acquainted with his secrets.

The Secretaries of State whom he has had, if we except the Duke of Shrewsbury, have been only a hired kind of clerks, who had only the despatch of the current affairs in the offices, and no share whatever in secrets, which are in the hands of his Dutch favourites. The Privy Council, and even the Cabinet Council, are, properly speaking, only for form's sake. Most of those who compose it are very mediocre. There is none who can be considered as a man to be depended upon; since all the artifice with which Parliament has been led for these ten years has been to corrupt the members or to intimidate those who were not to be corrupted.

1700. Vernon to Shrewsbury: *James*, iii. 95.

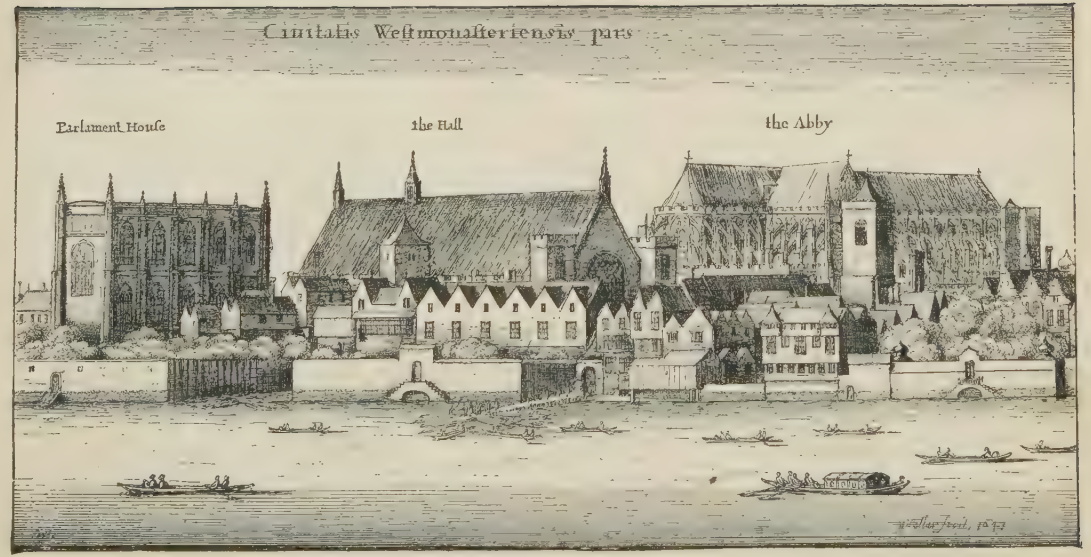
If there were twenty Secretaries during his
186 [William's] absence, they would be but so many ciphers.

Corruption.

1699. Vernon to Shrewsbury: *James*, ii. 305, 306.

The ill consequences that attend the disposal of places to such as are not fit for them are very obvious, and the greatest clamour arises from thence. If all places were filled with honest men who understood the business, then nobody would concern them-
187 selves whether they were members of Parliament or not, whereas they are now left to chance, and if there be no choice among the solicitors,* the boldest of them must carry it; and it is not to be wondered at if a nation be dissatisfied with such a management and take what ways they can to get it redressed.

* Those who solicit posts.



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, HALL, AND ABBEY, WESTMINSTER.

I am afraid Ministers may find themselves under a mistake when they yield so much to importunities, and prefer people merely because they think them their friends or creatures. Such as are like to disparage them do not deserve that name; but by always recommending the most deserving, they will tie to themselves a new set of men who will be of more use and credit to them. As we have ordered matters, and as industry has been overlooked and discouraged, it may be thought hard to find out the men who shall be adapted to the several stations. But if that method were once begun and kept to, good men would come to be discovered; and by comparing and judging impartially, little or no mistake need be committed. These notions are perhaps for Utopia, and impracticable everywhere else.

The Discontent at William's Favour to the Dutch.

1701. *Defoe*, '*The True-Born Englishman.*'

We blame the King that he relies so much
On strangers—Germans, Hugonots, and Dutch;
And seldom does his great affairs of state
To English counsellors communicate.
The fact might very well be answered thus:
He has so often been betrayed by us,
He must have been a madman to rely
On English Godolphin's fidelity.
For, laying other arguments aside,
This thought might mortify our English pride,
That foreigners have faithfully obeyed him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betrayed him.

DEFOE.

They have our ships and merchants bought and sold,
And bartered English blood for foreign gold.
First to the French they sold our Turkish fleet,
And injured Talmash next at Camaret.
The King himself is sheltered from their snares,
Not by his merit, but the crown he wears.
Experience tells us 'tis the English way
Their benefactors always to betray.

The Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance.

1701. Translated: *Dumont*, '*Corps Diplomatique*,' viii. 90.

When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall be at liberty to treat of peace with the enemy, save jointly and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for His Imperial Majesty, and for His Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the Lords, the States General for their dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce; and a sufficient provision that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united or come under the government of the same person, nor that the same person may ever be King of both kingdoms; and particularly that the French may never come into possession of the Spanish West
189 Indies; and that they shall not have freedom of navigation for the sake of conducting trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly, except it is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce by land and sea in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries of which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession, as well in Europe as elsewhere, and which they did then use and enjoy, or which the subjects of both or each nation could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right obtained before the death of the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

ANNE.

Opening of the Reign.

1702. Vernon to Stepney : James, iii. 190.

March 8.—His Majesty's death was noticed to both Houses of Parliament then sitting. I ought
190 not to omit telling you that as the House showed great concern at the loss of His Majesty, so they were very firm in their resolutions of supporting the alliances that are or shall be made against France.

James, iii. 193.

March 13.—Her Majesty has thought fit in this great conjuncture to despatch the Earl of Marlborough over to Holland with the character of Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, to give the States-General assurances of her steadfast resolution to adhere to all the treaties of alliance that have
191 been entered into, and to pursue all the measures that have been concerted between His Majesty the Emperor and the States for carrying on the common cause.

Her Majesty has made him Captain-General of all her land forces abroad as well as here, and this evening he and the Duke of Bedford have had the honour of the Garter conferred upon them.

Ministerial Changes.

1702. Vernon to Shrewsbury : *ibid.* 200.

March 24.—Much is said of the moderation the
192 two forementioned lords* will maintain. I believe

* Marlborough and Godolphin.

ANNE.

it their interest and inclination to do so; but when I consider whom they are linked with, I can't think them at liberty to act but as others will allow them.

The same to the same: *ibid.*, 232.

May 1.—I have got my quietus this evening. It
193 seems I was too obnoxious to the party to be

continued in. My Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin both tell me they did what they could towards it.

Anne's Favour to the Churchills.

1702. Mrs. Morley to Mrs. Freeman: '*Conduct of the Duchess*,' 304.

It is very uneasy to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley to think she has so very little in her power to show how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give. But since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will
194 give me leave, as soon as he comes, to make him a Duke. I know my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for anything of that kind, nor I am not satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mr. Freeman, nor nothing ever can how passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs. Freeman.

Blenheim.

To Mr. Secretary Harley: '*The Marlborough Despatches*,' i. 390-392.

August 14, 1704. Camp at Hochstet.

Sir,

I gave you an account on Sunday of the situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the enemy would pass the Danube at Lavingen, in
195 order to attack Prince Eugene. At eleven that night we had an express from him that the enemy were

come over, and desiring he might be reinforced; whereupon I ordered my brother Churchill to advance at one o'clock in the morning with his

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

twenty battalions, and by three the whole army was in motion. For the greater expedition I ordered part of the troops to pass over the Danube and

follow the march of the twenty battalions, and with most of the horse and the foot of the first line I passed the Lech at Rain, and came over the Danube at Donawert, so that we all joined the Prince that night, intending to advance and take this camp of Hochstet, in order whereto we went out on Tuesday early in the morning with forty squadrons to view the ground, but found the enemy had already possessed themselves of it; whereupon we resolved to attack them, and accordingly we marched between three and four yesterday morning from the camp at Munster, leaving all our tents standing. About six we came in view of the enemy, who we found did not expect so early a visit. The cannon began to play at half an hour after eight. They formed themselves in two bodies, the Elector with M. Marsin and their troops opposite our right, and M. de Tallard with all his opposed to our left, which last fell to my share. They had two little rivulets besides a morass before them, which we were obliged to pass over in their view, and Prince Eugene was forced to take a great compass to come to the enemy, so that it was one o'clock before the battle began. It lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and, by the blessing of God, we obtained a complete victory. We have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action as in the retreat, besides upwards of thirty squadrons of the French, which we pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish, M. de Tallard, with several of his general officers, being taken prisoners at the same time; and in the village of Blenheim, which the enemy had intrenched and fortified, and where

they made the greatest opposition, we obliged twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons of dragoons to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. We took likewise all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettledrums, and colours in the action, so that I reckon the greatest part of M. Tallard's army is taken or destroyed. The bravery of all our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed, the Generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, the horse and dragoons having been obliged to charge four or five several times.

The Elector and M. Marsin were so advantageously posted that Prince Eugene could make no impression on them till the third attack, at or near seven at night, when he made a great slaughter of them; but being near a wood-side, a good body of Bavarians retired into it, and the rest of that army retreated towards Lavingen, it being too late and the troops too much tired to pursue them far. I cannot say too much in praise of the Prince's good conduct and the bravery of his troops on this occasion. . . .

M.

August 13, 1704. Marlborough to the Duchess: *Coxe's 'Marlborough,'* i. 206.

I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and let her know her
196 army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other Generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest.

1704. *Coxe's 'Marlborough,'* i. 214, 216.

The army of M. de Tallard, which was that I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the Elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Marsin, which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid, has not had much loss, for I cannot find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the Elector knew that M. de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. I
197 am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However, I am so pleased with this action that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; for had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war.

1704. *Coxe*, i. 214.

Never was victory so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we and very advan-
198 tageously posted. But believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to make this venture; which God has so pleased.

1704. *Coxe*, i. 216.

We have intercepted several letters of the 19th,
199 going from Dutlingen to the French Court, by which the enemy own to have lost 40,000 killed, taken prisoners, and deserted since the battle.

The Campaign of 1704.

Addison, 'The Campaign.'

Soon as soft vernal breezes warm the sky,
Britannia's colours in the zephyrs fly;
Her chief already has his march begun,
Crossing the provinces himself had won,
Till the Moselle, appearing from afar,
Retards the progress of the moving war:
Delightful stream had Nature bid her fall
In distant climes, far from the perjured Gaul.

* * * * *

Our God-like leader, ere the stream be past,
The mighty scheme of all his labours cast,
The long laborious march he first surveys,
And joins the distant Danube with the Maese.

* * * * *

Big with the fate of Europe, he renews
His dreadful course, and the proud foe pursues,
Till on the borders of the Maine he finds
Defensive shadows and refreshing winds.
Still to the rising sun they take their way
Through clouds of dust and gain upon the day.
When now the Neckar on its friendly coast
With cooling streams receives the fainting host.

* * * * *

At length the fame of England's hero drew
Eugenio to the glorious interview.
Great souls by instinct to each other turn,
Demand alliance, and in friendship turn.

* * * * *

The march concludes, the various realms are past,
Th' immortal Schellanberg appears at last.

Like hills the aspiring ramparts rise on high,
Like vallies at their feet the trenches lie;

Batt'ries on batt'ries guard each fatal pass,
Threatening destruction; rows of hollow brass

Tube behind tube the dreadful entrance keep,
Whilst in their wombs ten thousand thunders sleep.
Evening approached; but, oh, what hosts of foes
Were never to behold that evening close!
Thick'ning their ranks, and wedged in firm array,
The close-compacted Britons win their way;
In vain the cannon their throng'd war defaced
With tracts of death, and laid the battle waste;
Still pressing forward to the fight, they broke
Through flames of sulphur and a night of smoke,
Till slaughtered legions fill'd the trench below,
And bore their fierce avengers to the foe.
High on the works the mingling hosts engage;
The battle, kindled into tenfold rage
With show'rs of bullets and with storms of fire,
Burns in full fury; heaps on heaps expire;
Nations with nations mixed confus'dly die,
And lost in one promiscuous carnage lie.
At length the long disputed pass they gain,
By crowded armies fortified in vain;
The war breaks in, the fierce Bavarians yield,
And see their camp with British legions filled.

* * * * *

To Donawert, with unresisted force,
The gay, victorious army bends its course.
The growth of meadows and the pride of fields,
Whatever spoils Bavaria's summer yields,
(The Danube's great increase) Britannia shares,
The food of armies and support of wars:
With magazines of death, destructive balls,
And cannons doomed to batter Landau's walls.
The victor finds each hidden cavern stored,
And turns their fury on their guilty lord.

Deluded Prince! How is thy greatness crost,
And all the gaudy dreams of empire lost,
That proudly set thee on a fancy'd throne,
And made imaginary realms thy own!
Thy troops, that now behind the Danube join,
Shall shortly seek for shelter from the Rhine,
Nor find it there; surrounded with alarms
Thou hop'st the assistance of the Gallic arms;
The Gallic arms in safety shall advance
And crowd thy standards with the power of France,
While to exalt thy doom, th' aspiring Gaul
Shares thy destruction, and adorns thy fall.

* * * * *

The fatal day its mighty course began
That the grieved world had long desired in vain;
States that their new captivity bemoan'd,
Armies of martyrs that in exile groan'd,
Sighs from the depth of gloomy dungeons heard,
And prayers in bitterness of soul prefer'd
Europe's loud cries, that Providence assailed,
And Anna's ardent vows at length prevailed,
The day was come when Heav'n designed to show
His care and conduct of the world below.

* * * * *

But see the haughty household troops advance!
The dread of Europe and the pride of France,
The war's whole art each private soldier knows,
And with a Gen'ral's love of conquest glows;
Proudly he marches on, and void of fear
Laughs at the shaking of the British spear:
Vain insolence! with native freedom brave
The meanest Briton scorns the highest slave.

* * * * *

The rout begins, the Gallic squadrons run,
Compelled in crowds to meet the fate they shun.
Thousands of fiery steeds with wounds transfixed
Floating in gore with their dead masters mixt,
With heaps of spears and standards driven around
Lie in the Danube's bloody whirlpools drown'd.
Troops of bold youths, born on the distant Soane,
Or sounding borders of the rapid Rhone,
Or where the Seine her flowery fields divides,
Or where the Loire through winding vineyards glides!
In heaps the rolling billows sweep away
And into Scythian seas their bloated corps convey.

* * * * *

From Memminghen's high domes and Ausburg's walls,
The distant battle drives the insulted Gauls;
Freed by the terror of the victor's name
The rescued states his great protection claim;
Whilst Ulm th' approach of her deliverer waits,
And longs to open her obsequious gates.
The hero's breast still swells with great designs,
In every thought the tow'ring genius shines:
If to the foe his dreadful course he bends,
O'er the wide continent his march extends;
If sieges in his lab'ring thoughts are form'd,
Camps are assaulted, and an army storm'd;
If to the fight this active soul is bent
The fate of Europe turns on its event.
Where will he next the flying Gaul defeat
To make the series of his toils complete?
Where the swoll'n Rhine, rushing with all its force,
Divides the hostile nations in its course,
On Gallia's side a mighty bulwark stands

That all the wide-extended plain commands.
Twice, since the war was kindled, has it tried
The victor's rage, and twice has changed its side.
As oft whole armies with the prize o'erjoyed
Have the long summer on its walls employed.
Hither our mighty chief his arms directs,
Hence future triumphs from the war expects:
And, though the dog-star had its course begun,
Carries his arms still nearer to the sun:
Fixt in the glorious action, he forgets
The change of seasons and increase of heats.
No toils are painful that can danger show,
No climes unlovely that contain a foe.

* * * * *

Fiction may deck the truth with spurious rays,
And round the Hero cast a borrow'd blaze.
Marlbro's exploits appear divinely bright,
And proudly shine in their own native light.
Raised of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those who paint 'em truest praise 'em most.

Party Struggles.

1702-1706. 'The Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct,' 1742.

The Queen had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the Whigs. She
201 had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the Church of England. This aversion to the whole party had

been confirmed by the ill-usage she had met with from her sister and King William. On the other hand, the Tories had the advantage, not only of the

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Queen's early prepossession in their favour, but of their having assisted her in the late reign in the affairs of her settlement. It was, indeed, evident

that they had done this more in opposition to King William than from any real respect for the Princess of Denmark. But, still, they had served her. It is no great wonder, therefore, all these things considered, that, as soon as she was seated on the throne, the Tories (whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favour. Her Privy Council was filled with Tories. My Lord Normanby, the Earls of Jersey and Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into place. Sir Nathan Wright was continued in possession of the Great Seal of England, and the Earl of Rochester in the lieutenancy of Ireland. These were men who had all a wonderful zeal for the Church—a sort of public merit that eclipsed all other in the eyes of the Queen.

* * * * *

I resolved from the beginning of the Queen's reign to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions on her mind more favourable to the Whigs. . . . Upon her coming to the Crown, she had not only made me her Groom of the Stole and Keeper of the Privy Purse, but had given the command of the army to my Lord Marlborough and the Treasurer's staff to my Lord Godolphin, to whose son my eldest daughter was married. It is plain, therefore, that I could have no motive of private interest to bias me to the Whigs. I did speak very freely to Her Majesty upon the subject of Whig and Tory, according to my conception of their different views and principles. It was at first to little effect. Perhaps I should never have succeeded so far as I did if the

Tories had not, by the heat with which they overacted their part, exposed that monopolizing ambition which ought to have been concealed under the cloak of zeal for the Church.

The Occasional Conformity Bill did not aim at excluding from employments the occasional Conformists only, but those constant Conformists, too, who could not relish the High Church nonsense of promoting religion by persecution; for as the Tories were well acquainted with Her Majesty's entire devotion to the Church, they designed this Bill as a test, whereby she might certainly distinguish its friends from its foes, and they doubted not but she would reckon among the latter whoever should oppose so religious a scheme.

My Lord of Rochester was, I think, the first of the Tory leaders that discovered a deep discontent with the Queen and her administration. Before the end of the year he resigned the lieutenancy of Ireland in great wrath upon Her Majesty's being so unreasonable as to press him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom.

Whether the Church was in any danger or not before, it could not be questioned by any good Churchman, but it now began to be in some peril when my Lord Rochester was no longer in place nor in the Council. The Bill against occasional conformity was revived by the Tories the next Parliament. But, though it had once more an easy passage through the House of Commons, it met with the same fate as the year before in the House of Lords. This new blow to the Church was soon followed by another—the removal of Lord Jersey and Sir Edward

Seymour from their employments; and about the same time Lord Nottingham resigned his place of Secretary of State because the Whigs were too much favoured.

The Whigs did, indeed, begin to be favoured, and with good reason, for when they said that my Lord Marlborough prosecuted the common cause with such hearty diligence and such unexpected success, they, notwithstanding the partiality which had been shown to their opposites, universally forgot their resentments, and as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of those who espoused the cause in which the Ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my Lord Godolphin began to pay them as much regard as the times and the Queen's prejudices would permit him to do.

* * * * *

It was resolved the next sessions of Parliament to tack the Occasional Conformity Bill to the Money Bill. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members even of this House of Commons, so rich in Tories and High Churchmen; and though the Bill by itself was afterwards passed in that House, it was again thrown out by the Lords.

Next year I prevailed with Her Majesty to take the Great Seal from Sir Nathan Wright. His successor, Lord Cooper, was not only of the Whig party, but of such abilities and integrity as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

The majority of the House of Commons in the new Parliament of 1705 proved to be Whig. What remedy?

One expedient still remained, and this was to

invite the Princess Sophia of Hanover to come over and defend the Church. A motion was therefore made in the House of Lords for this invitation, and the necessity of it was urged with great strength of argument by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the least hope or the least desire to carry their point; but being well assured that the Queen would never consent to such an invitation nor pardon her Ministers if they encouraged such a design, this was a notable stratagem to ruin them either with Her Majesty or with the nation; for if, in compliance with her prejudices, they opposed this notion, it was to be hoped it would draw the public odium upon them, as declared enemies to the Protestant succession. This hopeful scheme, however, did not succeed. The Whigs opposed the invitation and yet preserved their credit.

Such rude treatment from the Tories, and the zeal and success of the Whigs in opposing a motion so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her [Queen Anne] to write to me in the following terms: 'I believe dear Mrs. Freeman and I shall not disagree, as we have formerly done, for I am sensible of the services those people have done me, that you have a good opinion of, and am thorougly convinced of the malice and insolence of them that you have always been speaking against.'

At this same time Her Majesty authorized my Lord Godolphin to give the utmost assurances to the chief men of the Whigs that she would put herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve, and would do everything possible for the

security of the Protestant succession. But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much solicitation that Her Majesty could be prevailed with so far to oblige the Whigs as to make my Lord Sunderland Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. The Whigs thought it reasonable to expect that one of the Secretaries, at least, should be such a man as they could place a confidence in. They believed they might trust my Lord Sunderland; and . . . being my Lord Marlborough's son-in-law, they chose to recommend him to Her Majesty, because they imagined it was *driving the nail that would go*. I must observe here that my Lord Marlborough was not in his inclination for this promotion of my Lord Sunderland.

It quickly appeared that the difficulties raised by Her Majesty were wholly owing to the artifice and management of Mr. Harley, the other Secretary of State, whose interest and secret transactions with the Queen were then doubtless in their beginning. This man had been put into that post by the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin when my Lord Nottingham in disgust resigned it. They thought him a very proper person to manage the House of Commons, upon which so much always depends. As for Sir Charles Hedges, when he found how backward the Queen was to dismiss him, he was so prudent as to make a greater advantage to himself by quitting his post than he could have done by holding it. And in the winter of 1706 Lord Sunderland was appointed to succeed him.

Peterborough in Spain—Capture of Montjuich.

1705. 1723. Carleton's 'Memoirs,' 111-143.

Pursuant to his instructions from England, the repeated desires of the Archduke, and the importunities of the Prince of Hesse, our General gave orders to sail from Altea towards Barcelona. Our forces were driven backwards and encamped; notwithstanding, the succours increased very slowly, nor were those that did appear any way to be depended on. At last the Prince of Hesse was pleased to demand pay for these stragglers. Thus, we came to Catalonia upon assurances of universal assistance, but found when we came there that we were to have none unless we paid for it. And now began all these difficulties which long before by the
202 General had been apprehended. The troops had continued under a state of inactivity for three weeks, all which was spent in perpetual disputes among ourselves. In six several councils of war the siege of Barcelona was rejected as a madness and an impossibility. . . . Such were the unhappy circumstances of the Earl of Peterborough: impossibilities proposed, no expedient to be accepted, a court reproaching, councils of war rejecting, and the Dutch General refusing the assistance of the troops under his command, and a despair of bringing such animosities and differing opinions to any tolerable agreement. Yet all these difficulties, instead of discouraging the Earl, set every faculty more afloat, and at last produced a lucky thought, which was

happily attended with events extraordinary and scenes of success much beyond his expectation. True it is that his only hope of succeeding consisted

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

in this: that no person could suppose such an enterprise would enter into the imagination of man; and without doubt the General's chief dependence lay

upon what he found true in the sequel, that the Governor and garrison of Montjouick, by reason of their own security, would be very negligent and very little on their guard. Forced as he was to this extraordinary resolution, he concluded the readiest way to surprise his enemies was to elude his friends. He therefore called a council of war ashore of the land officers, and aboard of the admirals and sea officers, in both which it was resolved that, in case the siege of Barcelona was judged impracticable, and that the troops should be re-embarked by a day appointed, an effort should be made upon Naples. Accordingly, the heavy artillery, landed for the siege, was returned aboard the ships, and everything in appearance prepared for a re-embarkment. All things were so well disguised by our seeming preparations for a retreat, that the very night our troops were in march towards Montjouick there were public rejoicings in the town for the raising of the siege.

The Earl began his march on the enemy with 1,200 foot and 200 horse, which of necessity were to pass by the quarters of the Prince of Hesse. That Prince was told that the General was come to speak with him. The Earl acquainted him that he had at last resolved upon an attempt against the enemy, adding that now, if he pleased, he might be a judge of their behaviour, and see whether his officers and soldiers had deserved that character which he had given them. The Prince made answer that he had always been ready to take his share, but could hardly believe that troops marching that way could make any attempt against the enemy to satisfaction.

However, without further discourse, he called for his horse.

The troops which marched all night along the foot of the mountains arrived two hours before day under the hill of Mountjouick, not a quarter of a mile from the outward works. . . . A Lieutenant with thirty men was ordered to advance towards the bastion nearest the town, and a Captain with fifty men to support him. After the enemy's fire they were to leap into the ditch, and their orders were to follow them close if they retired into the upper works, nevertheless, not to pursue them farther if they made into the inner fort, but endeavour to cover themselves within the gorge of the bastion.

A Lieutenant and a Captain, with the like nnmber of men and the same orders, were commanded to a demi-bastion towards the west above musket-shot from the inward fortification. Towards this place the wall which was cut into the rock was not faced for about 20 yards, and here our men got up, where they found three pieces of cannon upon a platform without any men to defend it.

Those appointed to the bastion towards the town were sustained by 200 men, with which the General and the Prince went in person. The like number were to sustain the attack towards the west, and and about 500 men were left under a Dutch Colonel, whose orders were to assist where he should think most proper. Our men, though quite exposed, went on with an undaunted courage, and immediately after the first fire of the enemy leaped in pell-mell amongst the enemy, who retired in great confusion and ran into the inward works. . . . The enemy

had lines of communication between Barcelona and Montjouick. The Governor of the former, hearing the firing from the gates, sent 400 dragoons, under orders that 200 dismounting should reinforce the garrison, and the other 200 should return with their horses. When those 200 dragoons were got into the inward fort, unseen by our men, the Spaniards repeated over and over 'Viva el Rey!' This the Prince of Hesse took for a signal of their desire to surrender. Upon which, calling 'They surrender! they surrender!' he advanced with nearly 300 men along the curtain which led to the ditch of the inward fort. The enemy suffered them to come into the ditch, and there, surrounding them, took 200 of them prisoners. This firing brought the Earl down from the upper part of the bastion to see what was doing below. He saw the Prince of Hesse retiring with the men that had so rashly advanced. The Earl had exchanged a few words with him, when from a second fire that Prince received a shot, of which he died immediately, falling down at the General's feet.

Almost the same moment an officer came to acquaint the Earl that a great body of horse and foot, at least 3,000, were on their march from Barcelona towards the fort. The General directly got to horseback to take a view of those forces from the rising ground without the fort, having left all the posts, which were already taken, well secured with the allotted numbers of officers and soldiers. No sooner was the Earl out of the fort, the care of which he had left under Lord Charlemont, when a panic fear seized upon the soldiery, which was too

easily complied with by Lord Charlemont. I heard an officer urge to him that none of all those posts we were masters of were tenable, and that to offer at it would be not better than sacrificing human lives to caprice, like a man's knocking his head against stone walls to try which was hardest. . . . I slipped away as fast as I could to acquaint the General of the danger impending. As I passed along I took notice that the panic was on the increase, the rumour affirming that we should be cut off by the troops come out of Barcelona if we did not immediately gain the hills. Officers and soldiers under this prevailing terror quitted their posts, and in one united body (the Lord Charlemont at the head of them) marched, or rather hurried, out of the fort, and were half-way down the hill before the Earl came up to them. Though on my acquainting him with the shameful and surprising accident, he made no stay, but answering, 'Good God! is it possible?' hastened back as fast as he could. It is surprising to see with what alacrity and new courage they faced about and followed the Earl. In a moment they had forgot their apprehensions, and, without doubt, had they met with any opposition, would have behaved themselves with the greatest bravery. But as these motives were unperceived by the enemy, all the posts were regained and anew possessed in less than half an hour without any loss. Another incident which attended this enterprise was this: the 200 men which fell into the hands of the enemy were carried into the town. The Marquis of Risburg, who commanded the 3,000 men marching from the town to the relief of the fort, examined the

prisoners, and they all agreeing that the General and the Prince were in person with the troops, the Marquis gave immediate orders to retire to the town, taking it for granted that the main body of the troops attended the Prince and General. The body were 1,000 under Stanhope, being come up to Montjouick, and no interruption given us by the enemy, our affairs were put into very good order. The communication between the two camps was secure enough. The next day the Earl gave orders to land the artillery, immediately upon the landing whereof two mortars were fixed, from both which we plied the fort of Montjouick. The third or fourth day one of our shells, lighting on their magazine, blew it up, and with it the Governor and many principal officers who were at dinner with him. The blast at the same instant threw down a face of one of the smaller bastions, which the vigilant Miquelets no sooner saw but they readily entered, while the enemy were under the utmost confusion. If the Earl had not at the same moment thrown himself in with some regular troops, in all probability the garrison had been put to the sword. However, the General's presence not only allayed the fury of the Miquelets, but kept his own troops under strictest discipline, so that in a happy hour of the frighted garrison the General gave officers and soldiers quarters, making them prisoners of war.

Battle of Ramillies.

1706. Marlborough to Eugene (translated): '*Marlborough's Despatches*,' ii. 524, 525.

Sir,

Your Highness may have learnt before the arrival of this letter that the enemy, having assembled the whole of their force in the Low Countries and crossed the Dyle, had advanced near to Leau between the two Gheets with the object of attacking us. We advanced against them without hesitation. On Friday we left Tongres and came to Borchloen, where we stayed the next day on account of the bad weather, and also in order to give time to the Danish troops, who were still in the rear, to reach us. On Saturday we reached Corswaren, and on Sunday continued our march until three o'clock in the morning, so as to gain possession of the open-
203 ing between the Mehaigne and the great Gheet. We soon learned that the enemy was also on the march; but, according to the report of the Generals whom we have taken prisoners, their object was not to fight before Monday, for they did not believe we should dare to attack them.

The armies were in sight of one another before noon. A halt was made on both sides so as to put the troops in battle order and to prepare the batteries, which began firing a little after noon. At two o'clock we attacked the village of Ramillies, which supported the right wing of the enemy's infantry, and where they had their largest battery and many men. The fight grew hot, and lasted with great fury for a long time. At last, however,

the enemy were obliged to yield. We took their cannon and made many prisoners, and continued fighting with the same vigour, both infantry and cavalry, until between four and five o'clock, when the enemy began to retreat. We continued to pursue them as they retired. We took fifty guns, their pontoons, a large part of their baggage, and at least 4,000 prisoners, besides what they lost in the battle. We halted only for two hours during the night, and once more began the march before dawn so as to reach the Dyle; for we had determined to attempt to cross it this morning at dawn. The enemy, however, retreated yesterday evening towards Brussels and spared us the trouble, so that we have entered Louvain, and the whole of our army has crossed the river without any opposition. The French destroyed their magazines in the city, but the Spaniards left theirs untouched.

1706. Marlborough to the Queen: '*Marlborough's Despatches*,' ii. 536, 537.

MADAM,

I have thought it my duty to give your Majesty an account of the advantages we have already reaped by our victory, the enemy having still continued to retire before us; so that not only Brussels, with Louvain, Mechlin, Alost, and several
204 other places have submitted to your Majesty's victorious arms, but the three States of this Duchy of Brabant, the Sovereign Council, and the city of Brussels have actually declared for King Charles their lawful Sovereign, and have prayed me to own to your Majesty the deep sense they have of your

Majesty's great goodness in relieving them from the oppression of the French Government, from which there seems to be a universal joy among all sorts of people.

GODOLPHIN.

May 24, 1706. Marlborough to Godolphin: *Coxe's 'Marlborough,'* i. 418.

The first half-hour was very doubtful, but I thank God after that we had success in our attacks, which were on a village in the centre, and on the left we pursued them three leagues. They had 128 squadrons and 74 battalions; we had 123 squadrons
205 and 73 battalions; so that you see the armies were near of a strength; but the general officers which are taken tell us that they thought themselves sure of a victory by having all the King of France's household and with them the best troops of France.

1706. Marlborough to the Duchess: *Coxe's 'Marlborough,'* i. 426.

We are now masters of Ghent, and to-morrow I shall send some troops to Bruges. So many towns have submitted since the battle that it really looks more like a dream than truth. My thoughts are
206 now turning to the getting everything ready for the siege of Antwerp, which place alone in former years would have been thought good success for a whole campaign; but I hope we shall do more in this campaign than was done in the last ten years' war in this country.

1706. *Matt. Prior*, '*Ode on Ramillies*,' xxxii.

207 Brabantia, clad with fields and crown'd with flowr's,
With decent joy shall her deliv'rers meet;

SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

Shall own thy arms, great Queen, and bless thy pow'rs,
Laying the keys beneath thy subjects' feet.

Flandria, by plenty made the home of war,
Shall weep her crime and bow to Charles restored;
With double vows shall bless thy happy care
In having drawn and having sheathed the sword.
From these their sister provinces shall know
How Anne supports a friend, and how forgives a foe.

The Union with Scotland.

1707. To Mr. Carstares: *Carstares*, '*State Papers*,' 759, 760.

Rev. Sir,

I heartily congratulate you upon the finishing-stroke the Union Bill received on Thursday. That Bill has been the most darling Bill the Whigs ever had in their possession, and was mortifying, on the other side, to the Tories. When the Act for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian Church government was debated, the Archbishop of Canterbury said he had no scruple against ratifying and confirming it within the bounds of Scotland; that
208 he thought the narrow votaries of all churches had been their ruin; and that he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant Church as the Church of England, though he could not say it was so perfect. If we have but the temper Her Majesty recommends, the union will be the greatest blessing that Almighty God ever brought to this island. I hope our having made no alteration in those that were made in Scotland will convince the nation that we design to make this union as much or more for their advantage than our own.

1707. *Mackay, 'Jacobite Songs,' 53.*

Fareweel to a' our Scottish fame,
Fareweel our ancient glory;
Fareweel e'en to the Scottish name,
Sae fam'd in martial story.
Now Sark rins ower the Solway sands,
And Tweed rins to the ocean,
To mark where England's province stands,
Such a *parcel of rogues* in a nation!

What force or guile could not subdue
Through many warlike ages
Is wrought now by a coward few
For hireling traitors' wages.
The English still we could disdain,
Secure in valour's station,
But English gold has been our bane;
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation.

1707. *Ibid.*, 61.

Now fy let us a' to the treaty,
For there will be wonders there,
For Scotland is to be a bride, sir,
And wed to the Earl of Stair.
There's Queensbury, Seafield, and Mar, sir,
And Morton comes in by the bye;
There's Loudon and Leven and Weems, sir,
And Sutherland, frequently dry.

Now the Lord bless the jimp one and thirty,
If they prove not traitors, in fact;
But see that their bride be well drest, sir,
Or the devil take all the pack.

May the devil take all the hale pack, sir,
Away on his back with a bang!
Then well may our new buskit bridie
For her ain first wooer think lang.

The Battle of Almanza.

1707. 1728. Carleton's 'Memoirs,' 208.

April 15th in the year 1707 we had in the morning a flying report that there had been the day before a battle at Almanza between the army under the Duke of Berwick and that of the English under Lord Galway, in which the latter had suffered an entire defeat. We at first gave no great credit to it; but, alas! we were too soon woefully convinced of the truth of it by numbers that came flying to us from the conquering enemy.

To bring the Lord Galway to a battle in a place
211 most commodious for his purpose the Duke made use of this stratagem: He ordered two Irishmen—both officers—to make their way over to the enemy as deserters, putting this story in their mouths: that the Duke of Orleans was in full march to join the Duke of Berwick with 12,000 men; that this would be done in two days, and that then they would find out the Lord Galway and force him to fight wherever they found him.

Lord Galway, who at this time lay before Villena, receiving this intelligence from these well-instructed deserters, immediately raised the siege, with a resolution, by a hasty march, to force the enemy to battle

before the Duke of Orleans should be able to join the Duke of Berwick. To effect this, after a hard march of three long Spanish leagues in the heat of the day, he appears a little after noon in the face of the enemy with his fatigued forces. Glad and rejoiced at the sight—for he found his plot had taken —Berwick, the better to receive them, draws up his army in a half moon, placing, at a pretty good advance, three regiments to make up the centre, with express order to retreat at the first charge; all which was punctually observed and had its desired effect; for the three regiments at the first attack gave way, and seemingly fled towards their camp, the English pursuing them with shouts and holloaings. As soon as the Duke of Berwick perceived his trap had taken he ordered his right and left wings to close, by which means he at once cut off from the rest of the army all those who had so eagerly pursued the imaginary runaways. The rout was total, and the most fatal blow the English received during the whole war with Spain. The day after this fatal battle (which gave occasion to a Spanish piece of wit 'that the English General had routed the French'*) the Duke of Orleans did arrive, indeed, in the camp, but with only fourteen attendants.

* Berwick, the commander of the French, was an Englishman by birth, the natural son of James II. by Arabella Churchill; Galway, the English commander, was a French Huguenot refugee Ravigny, who came to England with the Prince of Orange.

The Battle of Oudenarde.

1708. Marlborough to Count Piper (translated): '*Marlborough Despatches*,' iv. 114.

The enemy having remained some weeks in the camp of Braine-la-Leude have during that time established intelligence with the chief cities of this country, and have made such good use of it that on the 5th of this month, through the treachery of some of the inhabitants, they entered with a detachment of their army into the town of Ghent; and since there were only 300 men for the defence of the citadel, it has also been compelled to surrender. Their army at the same marched to secure their new conquest, for they thought by that to make themselves masters of the whole of Flanders. They intended first to effect the siege of Oudenarde,
212 which they had invested on the 9th; and in order to cover it their army marched on the 10th to seize the camp of Lessines, from which they were only two leagues distant, when we anticipated them by forced marches. Then, seeing that we were already beginning to pass the Dendre at Lessines, they recalled their troops from Oudenarde, and once more took the road of Gavre on the Scheldt, so as to pass that river, which they began to do the next day, the 11th, at four o'clock in the morning, while on the same day we continued our march towards Oudenarde to five leagues from our camp, having sent on a detachment to make bridges, which was done successfully and without opposition. The detachment advanced to take post on the other side, while the army followed in haste, and the head did

not arrive at the bridge till just on noon. But the enemy, who had scarcely a league to march to cross the river, advanced on the other side and took up their ground. This obliged our detachment between three and four o'clock in the afternoon to attack their first troops; this was executed with great success. A brigade of ours defeated, killed, or took prisoners seven of the enemy's battalions, and by this means gave a part of our army time to join them, while the enemy were ranging themselves in line; and although many of our troops were still behind, between five and six o'clock the battle began, principally between the infantry, and lasted till night, when the enemy retreated towards Ghent in great confusion, so that God has given us a very complete victory, with very small loss on our side, although the enemy had many slain. We took more than 7,000 prisoners, besides nearly 800 officers, several of them persons of distinction, and captured 100 standards, flags, and trumpets. That night our army slept under arms on the field of battle, and after having pursued the enemy for some leagues on the next day, rested on Thursday and Friday; but to-day at midnight we have detached forty squadrons and thirty battalions with some guns towards the lines of the enemy between Ypres and Warneton.

1708. Before Oudenarde. Marlborough to Godolphin: *Coxe*, ii. 252.

13 The States have used this country so ill that I no ways doubt but all the towns in this country will

play us the same trick as Ghent has done whenever they have it in their power.

1708. Marlborough to the Duchess : *Coxe*, ii. 267.

July 16.—If we had been so happy as to have had
214 two more hours of daylight, I believe we should have made an end of this war.

1708. Marlborough to Godolphin : *Ibid.*

If we had been six hours later, I am afraid we should not have been able to have forced these lines ; for M. de la Motte was got with his little army to Ypres, and the Duke of Berwick was at the same time at Lille. We are now masters of marching where we please, but can make no siege till we are masters of Ghent, from whence only we can have
215 our cannon. The camp the French are now in behind the Canal of Bruges makes them entirely masters of Ghent and Bruges ; but at the same time they leave all France open to us, which is what I flatter myself the King of France and his council will never suffer, so that I hope by Thursday M. de Vendome will receive orders from Court not to continue in the camp where he is, from whence we are not able to force him, but by famine.

The Battle of Malplaquet.

1709. Marlborough to Stanhope : '*The Marlborough Despatches*,' iv. 594, 595.

Sir,

You will already have had an account of the
216 happy issue of the siege of Tournay, and of the

garrison of the citadel, to the number of upwards of 4,000 men, being obliged to surrender prisoners of war, whereupon the army was immediately put in motion in order to besiege Mons. The hereditary Prince of Hesse was detached before with sixty squadrons and 4,000 foot to force the lines between the Sambre and Mons and to invest the place. The whole army followed in some hours after, and the Prince, having succeeded and obliged three regiments of dragoons posted in the lines to retire, immediately invested the town. The enemy in the meantime, seeing our motions, assembled all their troops, and marched day and night till they passed the Scheldt and came to Quievrain, which obliged us to continue our march all Sunday night to pass the Hayne and join the Prince. On Monday the enemy extended themselves to the right to the plains of Tasnière, with the woods of Dour and Blangies before them, into which they threw a great body of foot and began to entrench themselves, upon which, having notice that twenty-one battalions and four squadrons of the troops we left at Tournay till the citadel was evacuated were at hand, it was resolved to attack them this morning. We began about eight o'clock. The French maintained the wood and their entrenchments with great obstinacy, so that it was noon before we could force them out. Our horse then advanced into the plains, where the battle was renewed with great fury, and lasted till three in the afternoon, when the enemy began to retire, part of their army towards Valenciennes and Condé, and the rest towards Maubeuge, and we pursued as far as Bavay with great slaughter, which

is all the particulars I can give you at present of this great action, which you will believe must have cost us a great many brave men; but I hope it will conduce to the putting a speedy and happy issue to the war, to the general satisfaction of all the allies.

Sacheverell's Sermon.

1709.

Our constitutions both in Church and State have been so admirably contrived, with that wisdom, weight and sagacity, and the temper and genius of each so exactly suited and modelled to the mutual support and the assistance of one another, that 'tis hard to say whether the doctrines of the Church of England contribute more to authorize and enforce our civil laws, or our laws to maintain and defend the doctrine of our Church. The natures of both are so nicely correspondent and so happily intermixt that 'tis almost impossible to offer a violation to the
217 one without breaking in upon the body of the other. So that, in all those cases before mentioned, whatsoever presumes to innovate, alter, or misrepresent any point in the Articles of the Faith of our Church ought to be arraigned as a traitor to our State, heterodoxy in the doctrine of one naturally producing and almost necessarily inferring rebellion and high treason in the other, and consequently a crime that concerns the civil magistrate, as much to punish and restrain, as the ecclesiastical. However this assertion at first view may look like a high-flown paradox, the proof of it will fully appear in a few instances. The grand security of our Government,

and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subject's obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the supreme power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatsoever.

* * * * *

Our adversaries think they effectually stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence; but certainly they are the greatest enemies of that and His late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the deliverance who endeavour to cast such black and odious colours upon both. How often must they be told that the King himself solemnly disclaimed the least imputation of resistance in his Declaration, and that the Parliament declared that they set the crown on his head upon no other title but that of the vacancy of the throne.

* * * * *

Now, as the Republicans copy after the Papists in most of their doctrines and practices, I would fain know in this where the difference lies betwixt the power granted to (as 'tis supposed originally invested, but from what commission God knows) in the people, to judge and dethrone their Sovereigns for any cause they think fit, or a no less usurped power of the Pope to absolve the people from their allegiance, and dispose of sceptres and diadems to his favourites, whenever he thinks it his interest to pluck them from his enemies' heads.

* * * * *

But since this model of a universal liberty and

coalition failed, and these false brethren could not carry the conventicle into the Church, they are now resolved to bring the Church into the conventicle —that is, what they could not do by open violence, they will not fail by secret treacheries to accomplish. If the Church can't be pulled down, it may be blown up; and no matter with these men how 'tis destroyed, so that it is destroyed. Now, let us, I beseech you in the name of God, fairly consider what must be the consequence of this scandalous fluctuation and trimming betwixt the Church and Dissenters, both in conscience and prudence. Does not this innovating in giving up or receding from any one point or article in our faith violate and affect the whole frame and body of it? Can we either add to or diminish from the least jot of our religion? Are we to take its constitution as our Saviour and His Apostles delivered it down to us? or have we authority to curtail, mangle, or alter it to suit it to the pride, humours, caprice, and qualm sick stomach of obstinate, moody, wayward, and self-conceited hypocrites and enthusiasts? Will not such a base and time-serving compliance give the enemies of our Church an occasion of blaspheming her as weak and inconstant?

* * * * *

Thus, we see how dangerous these false brethren are to our Church, which is so great and considerable a branch of our civil constitution, that the support of our Government depends upon its welfare, and what affects that must strike at the foundation of our State, innovations in either tending to the subversion of their laws and the unsettling their

establishment, and consequently to anarchy and confusion. But to draw this argument more home to the point I will endeavour to prove that our false brethren are as destructive of our civil as ecclesiastical rights. For, first, it cannot be denied that, though they do submit to the Government, their obedience is forced and constrained, and therefore (to use their own expressions) are as much occasional loyalists to the State as occasional conformists to the Church — that is, they will betray either whenever it is in their power and they think it for their advantage. Falsehood always implies treachery, and whether that is a qualification for anyone to be trusted, especially with the guardianship of our Church or Crown, let our governors consider; and certainly nothing but the most sottish infatuation can so far blind both our eyes and our judgments as to make us believe that the same causes should not produce the same effects, and that the same latitudinarian and republican notions should not bring forth the same rebellions and pernicious consequences.

The Fall of the Churchills and the Whigs.

1707-11. 1742. Duchess of Marlborough's 'Conduct.'

It was about this time [1707] that the Ministry began to be assured of the secret practices of Mr. Harley against them, and that I discovered the base returns made me by Mrs. Masham, upon whom I had heaped the greatest obligations.

Mrs. Masham was the daughter of one Hill, a

merchant in the city, by a sister of my father. [Her father], turning projector,* brought ruin upon himself and his family. I sent Mrs. Hill money. She told me that her husband was in the same relation to Mr. Harley as she was to me, but that he had never done anything for her. Mrs. Masham's father and mother did not live long after this. I took her to St. Albans, and treated her with as great kindness as if she had been my sister. After some time a bedchamber woman of the Princess of Denmark's died, and I thought I might ask the Princess to give the vacant place to Mrs. Hill. I made the request to the Princess, and it was granted. . . . I may here add that even the husband of Mrs. Masham had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was made first a page, then an equerry, and afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince.

The first thing which led me into inquiries about her conduct was the being told in the summer of 1707 that my cousin Hill was privately married to Mr. Masham. . . . In less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become an absolute favourite, that the Queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, that Mrs. Masham came often to the Queen when the Prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her. I likewise then discovered beyond all dispute Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at Court by means of this woman.

About the same time that I made this discovery of Mrs. Masham's intriguing my Lord Godolphin, as I before mentioned, got notice of Mr. Harley's

* = Company-promoter.

practices both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the Whigs jealousies of Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, and at the same time assuring the Tories that they might depend upon the Queen's inward affection to them, and that it was wholly owing to these two great lords that the Tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. The conduct which Mr. Harley observed became quickly so notorious that my Lord Godolphin could not help representing it to the Queen as of the utmost prejudice to her affairs. And when he found that Her Majesty would believe nothing of it, he went so far as to say that, if Mr. Harley continued to act the part he did, and yet to have so much credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord Marlborough and himself must of necessity quit her service. The Queen appeared much alarmed at this. 'Can dear Mrs. Freeman think I can be so stupid as not to be sensible of the great services that my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer have done me, nor of the great misfortune it would be if they should quit my service?' In a very short time the great breach at Court became public. Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the Queen in the most respectful manner that it was impossible for them to do her any service while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Her Majesty, nevertheless, seemed determined not to part with him, till at length those two lords declared their resolution to serve no longer with him, and they absented themselves from the council. Mr. Harley would have proceeded to business without them, but the Duke of Somerset said he did not see how it could

be to any purpose when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present, whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the Queen that very soon after Mr. Harley was dismissed from his post.

Such a compliance seemed to the world a very great concession, but was, in truth, nothing; for it was evident by what followed that this appearance of giving up Mr. Harley was with his own consent and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. Masham continued in favour, would, under pretence of visiting her (who was his cousin), have all the opportunities he could wish for of practising upon the passions and credulity of the Queen, and the method of corresponding with him had been settled some time before; and that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley became every day more and more manifest by the difficulties and objections which Her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost everything proposed by her Ministers. The scheme of the Queen's new counsellors to make her Ministers quit her service or engage her to discard them began now to appear without disguise. Lord Marlborough had written to the Queen: 'Your Majesty will allow me on this occasion to remind you of what I writ to you the last campaign, of the certain knowledge I had of Mrs. Masham's having assured Mr. Harley that I should receive such constant mortifications as should make it impossible for me to continue in your service. God Almighty and the whole world are my witnesses with what care and pains I have served you for more than twenty years, and I was resolved, if possible, to have

struggled with the difficulties to the end of this war. But the many instances I have had of your Majesty's great change to me has so broke my spirits that I must beg, as the greatest and last favour, that you will approve of my retiring.' The Queen wrote him an answer, assuring him that he had no ground for suspicions, and desiring him to come to town.

About the beginning of June [1710] the design of turning out Lord Sunderland began to be talked of. . . . Whether my interfering in this matter hastened the execution of the design I cannot say. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for Lord Sunderland was presently after dismissed from his office. In less than two months after this, and even the very day after the Queen had expressed her desire to my Lord Godolphin himself that he would continue in her service, she dismissed him, and her letter of order to him to break his staff was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in livery to be left with his Lordship's porter.

When, after a very successful campaign, the Duke of Marlborough was returned to London, the Queen most readily accepted the resignation, which he carried her from me, of my offices. The Duchess of Somerset was made Groom of the Stole and had the Robes, and Mrs. Masham had the Privy Purse. The Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding an infinite variety of mortifications, continued to serve yet another campaign. As all the arts of malice and detraction had proved ineffectual to make him resign his post, it was become necessary to remove him from it. But what plausible pretence to remove so able and so successful a General while the war was

in appearance still subsisting? A frivolous and groundless complaint in Parliament about certain perquisites he had claimed must serve the turn. The Queen, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing by the *Commissioners of Accounts* was pleased to say *she was sure her servants would not encourage such proceedings*. Nevertheless, Her Majesty, once more pressed by an irresistible necessity, made use of that very complaint as a reason for dismissing him from all his employments.

November 10, 1710. Henry St. John to Mr. Drummond: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, i. 15.

The situation of the great man here will chiefly depend on his own conduct. Things are gone so
219 far that there can be no thoughts of returning now to Egyptian bondage.

January, 1711. Henry St. John to Mr. Drummond: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, i. 79.

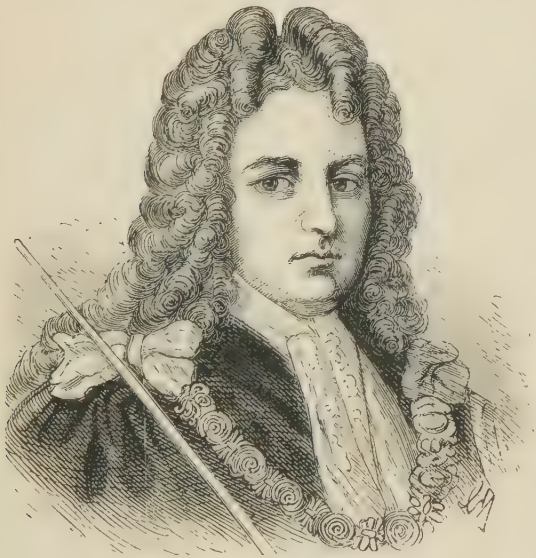
He was told at first that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my Lord Godolphin, and himself had thrown the Queen's favour away, and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told that his true interest consisted in getting rid of his wife, who was grown
220 to be irreconcilable with the Queen, as soon as he could and with the best grace he could. Instead of this, he teased the Queen, and made the utmost effort to keep this woman in her place. He never brought the key till he had but three days given him to do it in, and till he found that a longer delay was

not to be hoped for from the Queen's resolution. However, he now pretends to make a merit of resignation.

Marlborough's Views and Character.

1703. Marlborough to the Duchess: *Coxe*, i. 132.

221 There is nothing more certain than what you say, that either of the parties would be tyrants if they



ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

were let alone; and I am afraid it is as true that it will be very hard for the Queen to prevent it.

1704. *Coxe*, i. 235

I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me
222 in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory.

1711. *Bolingbroke's Letters*, i. 105.

I am sorry my Lord Marlborough gives you so
223 much trouble. It is the only thing he ever will give you.

1758. Swift, 'Four Last Years of Queen Anne': Works, v. 26.

He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a strong bias that way till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and Courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be General for life.
224 I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites by continuing the war. He is noted to be master of great temper—able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which Nature has denied him, with respect to money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in Courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

Arguments for Peace.

1711. St. John to Lord Raby*: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, i. 192-195.

We are now in the tenth campaign of a war, the great load of which has fallen on Britain, as the great advantage of it is proposed to redound to the House of Austria and to the States-General. They are in interest more immediately, we more remotely concerned. However, what by our forwardness to engage in every article of expense, what by our private assurances, and what by our public parliamentary declarations that no peace should be made without the entire restitution of the Spanish Monarchy, we are become principals in the contest. The war is looked upon as our war, and it is treated
225 accordingly by the confederates, even by the Imperialists and by the Dutch. I will not enter into the particulars; I will only make an observation. If a method of carrying on the war was offered never so prejudicial to the interests of Britain, yet the general topic† of necessity prevailed. On the other hand, our allies have always looked first at home, and the common cause has been served by the best of them in the second place. From hence it is that our commerce has been neglected, while the French have engrossed the South Sea trade to themselves, and the Dutch encroach daily upon us, both in the East Indies and on the coast of Africa. From hence it is that we have every year added to our burden, which was long ago greater than we could bear;

* Afterwards Strafford. † Argument.

whilst the Dutch have yearly lessened their proportions in every part of the war, even in that of Flanders, on the pretence of poverty. Whilst the Emperor has never employed twenty of his 90,000* men against France, on account of the troubles in Hungary, which he would not accommodate, nor has suffered our vast expenses in Italy to be effectual on account of articles in which it did not suit with his conveniency to keep his word, and whilst each of the other confederates in his turn has, from some false pretence, or from some trifling consideration of private advantage, neglected to perform his part in the war, or given a reason to others for not performing theirs, from hence it is that our fleet is diminished and rotten, that our funds are mortgaged for thirty-two and ninety-nine years, that our specie is exhausted, and that we have nothing in possession and hardly anything in expectation, as a compensation to Britain for having borne the burden and heat of the day; whilst Holland has obtained a secure and even formidable barrier; and by my Lord Townshend's great generosity has a claim against our claiming any privilege or benefit in point of commerce, wherein they shall not be entitled to an equal share; whilst the House of Austria has everything in hand *à la Sicile près*, which they proposed by the war, whilst all the allies have had our annual tributes rather than subsidies, besides particular advantages, and some of them are already masters of greater rewards than their services deserve. From hence, in one word, it is that our Government is in a consumption, and that (how florid a countenance

* His stipulated quota.

ever we put on) our vitals are consuming, and we must inevitably sink at once. This state is either a true or a false one. We take it to be a true one, and then I am sure there can be no dispute about the inference to be deduced from it.

1711-12. 1758. Swift, 'Four Last Years of the Queen,' v. 39-43.

Parliament met upon December 7, 1711. The Queen's Speech was taken up in telling both Houses what progress she had made towards a general peace. The House of Lords resolved upon an address of thanks, to which the Earl of Nottingham proposed an addition: 'And we do beg leave to represent it to your Majesty as the humble opinion and advice of this House that no peace can be safe or honourable to Great Britain and Europe if Spain and the West Indies are to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon.' Her Majesty's answer was short and dry. In return to Lord Nottingham's
26 clause [she] said: 'She should be sorry that anybody should think she should not do her utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the House of Bourbon.' When this address against any peace without Spain, etc., was carried in the House of Lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old Ministry triumphed loudly and without any reserve, as if the game were all their own. The Earl of Wharton was observed to smile and put his hands to his neck when any of the Ministry were speaking. On the other side all well-wishers to the Queen, the Church, or the peace, were equally dejected, and

the Treasurer stood the foremost mark both of his enemies' fury and the censure of his friends; among the latter some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature, others to his immeasurable public thrift. Both parties agreed that a first Minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event, and some began to doubt whether the great fame of his abilities acquired in other stations* were what he justly deserved. It was, I believe, upon these motives that the Treasurer advised Her Majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her lifetime. This promotion was so ordered that a third part were of those on whom or their posterity the peerage would naturally devolve, and the rest were such whose merit, birth, and fortune could admit of no exception.

The adverse party being thus driven by open force had nothing left but to complain that it was a pernicious example set for ill Princes to follow, who by the same rule might make at any time a hundred as well as twelve.

The Restraining Orders.

May, 1712. Bolingbroke to the Duke of Ormond†: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, ii. 320.

227 Her Majesty, my Lord, has reason to believe that we shall come to an agreement. . . . It is therefore

* He had been Speaker of the House and Secretary of State.

† Ormond was Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in alliance against France.

the Queen's positive command to your Grace that you avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding a battle till you have farther orders. I am at the same time directed to let your Grace know that the Queen would have you disguise the receipt of this order, and Her Majesty thinks that you cannot want pretences for conducting yourself so as to answer her ends without owning that which might at present have an ill effect if it was publicly known.

P.S.—Communication is given of this order to the Court of France, so if the Mareschal de Villars takes in any private way notice of it to you your Grace will answer accordingly.

Bolingbroke's Account of the Negotiation.

January, 1712. St. John to Peterborough: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, ii. 119.

Some months ago the French means of applying to the Queen and of desiring her assistance to set on foot a negotiation of peace.* The first answer to this overture was that they would do well to endeavour to renew the treaty where it broke off.† The enemy absolutely refused to begin with the Dutch, and renewed their addresses to the Queen, who received from them some general propositions, which were immediately sent into Holland. After this Prior went into France, and Ménager came over hither. The whole intent of this negotiation was to try how far we could bring the enemy to offer and

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* The first secret overtures came, as a matter of fact, from England.

† In Holland.

engage without expecting anything reciprocal from us. For, my Lord, after all the clamour which has been raised, the Queen is under no tie nor obligation from France, whatever France may be to her. At last the general articles which you have seen were received to serve as inducements to the confederates to open the congress, and as propositions which contained in them all that ever was or that ever could be demanded. The Queen exacted from France an engagement on several heads relating to the interest of Britain, which is only to take effect in case a peace succeeds, and she declared both to her friends and to her enemy that this peace should never succeed unless her allies had all reasonable satisfaction in their several pretensions. On this foot what injustice was done? What ill consequence could follow?

The Peace of Utrecht.

1713. *Burnet*, ii. 618, 619.

By the Treaty of Peace, the French King was bound to give neither harbour nor assistance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Protestant succession. Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited within five months after the ratifications. Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St.
229 Christopher's were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland. This was the main substance of the articles of peace.

As for the Allies, Portugal and Savoy were satisfied. The Emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands;

Sicily was to be given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King; the States were to deliver at Lille and the little places about it. And besides the places

LOUIS XIV.

of which they were already possessed they were to have Namur, Charleroi, Luxemburg, Ypres, Nieuport.

Comments on the Peace.

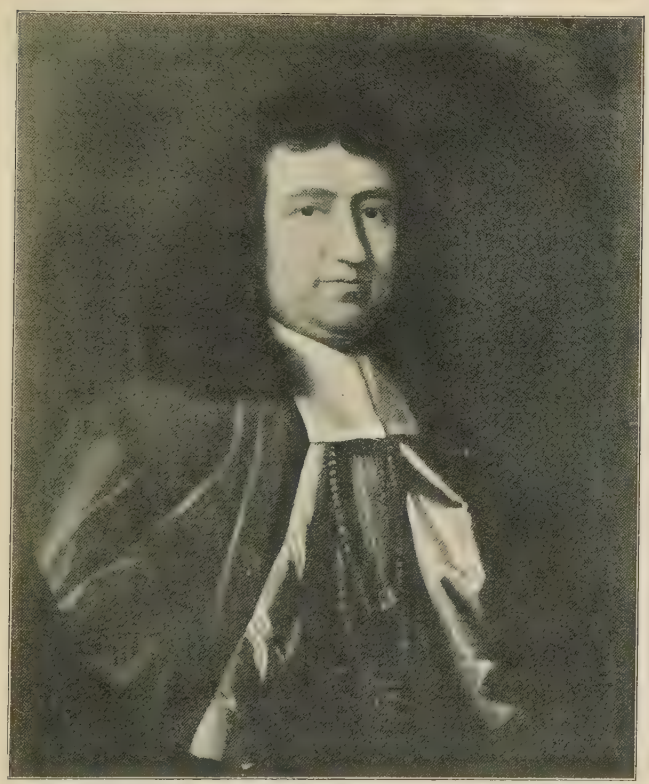
1713. Bolingbroke to Prior: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, iv. 77, 78.

The peace is made, and I thank your friendship for the compliment upon it. I have acquired some experience, and that is all I expect besides the public advantage to gain by it. I have learned that one
230 should never despair, that perseverance will make amends for many defects in measures and in conduct. I have learned that, in Britain at least, doing little is better than doing much, and doing nothing is better than either.

1713. *From a speech prepared by Bishop Burnet.* *Burnet*, ii. 626.

My Lords,

I cannot reconcile the carrying on a treaty with the French without the knowledge and concurrence of the other confederate States and Princes, and the concluding it without the consent of the Emperor—I say I cannot reconcile this with the articles of the Grand Alliance, and the later
231 treaties that are in print. I must think that a peace made in opposition to the express words of so many treaties will prove a curse instead of a blessing to us. By this our nation is dishonoured and our Church disgraced. And I dread to think what the consequence of those things is like to prove.



BISHOP BURNET.

Dissensions in the Government.

July, 1714. *Bolingbroke's Letters*, iv. 567.

My dear Lord,

The Queen's affairs are in a deplorable
232 state by the glorious management with which, it seems, no man must presume to find fault. We are

fallen into contempt abroad, into confusion at home. With a vast majority of the nation on our side, we are insulted by the minority; and with the merit of having made a good and popular peace, we are reproached by those who lie under the guilt of attempting to prolong a ruinous war. It is a great while since I have thought that this could never be. Was not our leader in a secret with our enemy? And I believe that there is hardly a Whig or Tory in Britain that is not of the same opinion. What the Queen will do to extricate herself from these difficulties—and she alone can save herself—I do not know. This I know: that there is no danger, no labour I decline to serve her, except one, which is that of trusting the same conduct a fifth year which has deceived herself these four years.

Prior to Bolingbroke: *Bolingbroke's Letters*, iv. 578.

August 7, 1714. PARIS,

MY DEAR LORD,

I should be wanting in my duty and friendship to you if I were silent upon a point which, for me of all men, it is most dangerous to touch; you will easily guess it is the differences—and, as they are represented here, the open quarrels—between my
233 masters at Whitehall. Who is in the wrong or who is in the right is not in my power at this instance to determine; but this thing everyone sees at this Court, from Torcy to Courtenvaux, as I believe they do in yours, from my Lord Chancellor to Miramont, that the honour of our nation daily diminishes, and the

credit of the Ministers particularly suffers. I would expatiate upon this topic if I did not write to a man of your superior sense, and I need make no excuse for touching upon it, because I am sure I write to a man who loves me and knows I love him. I have one reason to wish an end to these misunderstandings more than any man else, which is that I foresee my own ruin inevitably fixed in their continuance. But be all that as it will, my Lord Bolingbroke shall never be ashamed of my conduct or find me behave otherwise than as an honest and an English man.

Am I to go to Fontainbleau? Am I to come home? Am I to be looked upon? Am I to hang myself? From the present prospect of things the latter begins to look most eligible. Adieu, my Lord! God bless you!

I am,
Ever inviolably yours,
MATT.

1714. *Bolingbroke's Letters*, iv. 575.

The removal of the Earl of Oxford from the post of Lord High Treasurer, the constitution of a commission of the Treasury, and several other incidents which attend such a change have for a few days
34 interrupted the regular course of business. I hope we shall soon settle into order, and carry on the service with more vigour and dispatch than has been usual, and then one of the first cares must be to secure the peace of Ireland.

Death of the Queen.

1714. Bolingbroke to Swift: *Swift's Works*, xvi. 178.

Dear Dean,

The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday:
235 the Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!

A Later Estimate of Bolingbroke.

'Lord Hervey's Memoirs,' i. 21, 22.

As to Lord Bolingbroke's general character, it was so mixed that he had certainly some qualifications that the greatest men might be proud of, and many which the worst would be ashamed of. He had fine talents, a natural eloquence, great quickness, a happy memory, and very extensive knowledge, but he was vain much beyond the general run of mankind, timid, false, injudicious, and ungrateful; elated and insolent in power, dejected and servile in disgrace. Few
236 people ever believed him without being deceived, or trusted him without being betrayed. He was one to whom prosperity was no advantage and adversity no instruction. He had brought his affairs to that pass that he was almost as much distressed in his private fortune as desperate in his political views, and was upon such a foot in the world that no King would employ him, no party support him, and few particulars* defend him. His enmity was the contempt of those he attacked, and his friendship a

* Individuals.

weight and reproach to those he adhered to. Those who were most partial to him could not but allow that he was ambitious without fortitude, and enterprising without resolution; that he was fawning without insinuation, and insincere without art; that he had admirers without friendship, and followers

DEAN SWIFT.

without attachment; parts without probity, knowledge without conduct, and experience without judgment. This was certainly his character and situation; but since it is the opinion of the wise, the speculative, and the learned that most men are born with the same propensities, actuated by the same passions, and conducted by the same original

principles, and differing only in the manner of pursuing the same ends, I shall not so far chime in with the bulk of Lord Bolingbroke's contemporaries as to pronounce he had more failings than any man ever had; but it is impossible to see all that is written and hear all that is said of him and not allow that if he had not a worse heart than the rest of mankind at least he must have had much worse luck. . . .

ADDENDUM.

Taking of Gibraltar.*

1704. 1705-1714. Burnet, ii. 388, 389.

Rook as he sailed back fell in upon Gibraltar; where he spent much powder, bombarding it to very little purpose, that he might seem to attempt somewhat, though there was no reason to hope that he could succeed; some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place where it was not thought possible to climb
237 up the rocks, yet they succeeded in it. When they got up, they saw all the women of the town were come out, according to their superstition, to chapel, there to implore the Virgin's protection. They seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender. They had leave to stay or go as they pleased; and in case they

* This should be read after the passages pp. 136-146.

stayed, they were assured of protection in their religion and in everything else; for the Prince of Hesse, who was to be their Governor, was a Papist. But they all went away, with the small garrison that had defended the place. The Prince of Hesse, with the marines that were on board the fleet, possessed himself of the place, and they were provided out of the stores, that went with the fleet, with everything that was necessary for their substance or defence.

It has been much questioned by men who understand these matters whether our possessing ourselves of Gibraltar and maintaining ourselves in it so long was to our advantage or not.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART II

AUTHORITIES CITED.

SUBJOINED is a list of the chief authorities cited, with such explanations as are needful to render it intelligible. In addition to these authorities, use has been made of official publications, such as the *Journals of the Houses of Parliament*, the *London Gazette*, the *State Trials*. The reader should bear in mind that there is a mass of pamphlet literature, dealing with the chief political conflicts of the period, which gives one a very good insight into the ideas and motives of the actors in the Revolution; it is not attempted to detail it here. But the political writings of Sidney, Locke, Swift, Bolingbroke, and Defoe are all of great importance, and would interest those who do not care for research.

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BOLINGBROKE, HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT: Letters, 4 vols. This work is a source of much of our knowledge of the negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht. The style of the

author renders them worthy of citation, irrespective of the subject. Bolingbroke was responsible for the negotiations, and his letters are first-rate evidence (1) of what he wished to be believed, (2) of some of the actual difficulties in the negotiation, and (3) his relations to Harley and Prior, the poet and envoy.

BURNET, GILBERT, Bishop of Salisbury: History of His Own Times. First edition. This is the most important complete contemporary history of events. Burnet (1643-1715) was a strong partisan, and had much to do with effecting the Revolution; yet, though dull and verbose as a writer, he is fairly accurate, and strives to be fair. He is invaluable for the history of Scotland in the reign of Charles II.; he at that time held a living in East Lothian. He was tolerant in opinion, and opposed the violent persecution carried on by Lauderdale, by whom he was afterwards attacked. He endeavoured to moderate in the Exclusion Bill controversy. He attended Russell at his trial and execution, but after that found it more prudent to leave England. Towards the end of Charles II.'s reign he was deprived of his preferments. During that of James II. he lived in Holland, greatly in the favour of the Prince and Princess of Orange. He came over in the expedition of 1688, and drew up the declaration of the Prince. He was made Bishop of Salisbury, and although his activity as a Whig politician remained to the end, he was an industrious and devout prelate, and has left us a valuable picture of the increase in regularity and activity introduced by the 'latitudinarian' clergy. The first part of his History was composed before 1705, and the latter, which goes down to the Peace of Utrecht, in the end of the reign of Anne.

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CARSTARES, WILLIAM: State Papers, edited by McCormick, 1774. This volume contains some valuable documents for Scottish affairs, especially the massacre of Glencoe and the

Treaty of the Union. Carstares was a Presbyterian divine and a devoted Whig.

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GRIMBLOT: William III. and Louis XIV. (1842). Two vols. Gives a number of interesting letters relative mainly to the question of the Spanish Succession.

HERVEY, JOHN, LORD: Memoirs, 1848 (1693-1746). Hervey was the intimate adviser of the wife of George II. and the friend of Walpole. The passage quoted is given as a specimen of English prose, and an illustration of that opinion of Bolingbroke which serves, if correct, to account for his failure.

JAMES II.: Memoirs, published in Macpherson's 'State Papers,' vol. i. It would appear that the transcripts given are sub-

stantially correct, although the form slightly differs, according as they are made by Carte or Macpherson.

LUTTRELL, NARCISSUS: A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs. Six vols., 1857. A very dull but detailed contemporary account of history, compiled day by day from newspapers and letters, besides the author's own knowledge. Not always quite accurate.

MACPHERSON: Original Papers. Two vols. Macpherson collected a large number of valuable original papers belonging to both the Stuart and Hanoverian archives. But he is mainly known as the clever impostor who palmed off the so-called 'Ossian' on the public; consequently, although many of the documents he gives are clearly genuine, he must be consulted with great caution, and illustrates one of the main difficulties of historians in regard to sources.

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RERESBY, SIR JOHN: Memoirs, edited by Cartwright, 1875. A dull, but useful, first-hand authority for the latter half of Charles II. and the events leading to the Revolution. The chief value of Reresby, in addition to his being an eye-witness in Parliament, is due to the fact of his being a hanger-on of Halifax, although he was probably more definitely Tory than the latter.

SHREWSBURY, CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF: Correspondence, edited by W. Coxe, 1821. This is a very valuable authority for the views of William, Sunderland, and many of the great Whig leaders, besides Shrewsbury himself. The latter was the most universally admired, but least practically effective, of the statesmen of the day, owing to his incurable lack of nerve and disgust with the back-ways of politics.

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reckoned authentic. It is biassed strongly on the Tory side, but there seems no reason to doubt its being genuine. Swift was the ablest pamphleteer on the Tory side, and his tracts on 'The Conduct of the Allies' and the 'Barrier Treaty' paved the way for peace.

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WOLSELEY : Life of Marlborough. Two vols. Bentley.

DATE SUMMARY

PART II.

JAMES II.—1685-1689.

1685. Parliament votes large revenue.
Monmouth's rebellion. Battle of Sedgemoor.
Bloody Assize.
Halifax dismissed ; the Hydes in power.
James quarrels with Parliament on the subject of the Dispensing Power.

1686. Hales' case establishes the Dispensing Power on principles of absolutism.
Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

1687. Fall of the Hydes ; ascendancy of Sunderland, Tyrconnel Father Petre.
Declaration of Indulgence.

1688. Declaration ordered to be read in churches.
Birth of the Prince of Wales.
Trial of the Seven Bishops.
Letter of invitation to the Prince of Orange.
James begins to undo his arbitrary acts ; but William lands at Torbay in November and marches to London, joined by Churchill and others.
James, having despatched his wife and son, flies ; is brought back, but again flies.

1689. CONVENTION :
Offers crown to William and Mary.
Draws up Declaration of Right.

William III. and Mary II.—1689-1694

1689. Convention becomes a Parliament, and turns Bill of Rights into a statute.
Toleration Act (tolerates all but Roman Catholics and Unitarians).
William and James in Ireland.
Battle of the Boyne. James leaves Ireland.
1692. Marlborough, being suspected of treason, is dismissed from all his offices.
Massacre of Glencoe.
1693. First homogeneous Whig Cabinet.
1694. Bank of England established.
Triennial Act.
Death of the Queen.

William III.—1695-1702.

1696. Plot against William.
1697. Execution of Fenwick.
Reduction of army.
1699. William's Dutch guards dismissed, and attacks made on grants to Portland and others.
1701. Act of Settlement.
Impeachment of Portland and Somers and others for their part in the Partition Treaty.
Death of James II.
New Parliament of Whig sympathies.
1702. William dismisses the Tory Ministry.
The Pretender attainted.
Death of William.

Foreign Policy under James II. and William III.

1685. James receives pension from France.
1687. Arrival of Papal Nuncio.
1688. James repudiates assistance of Louis.
1689. War with France.

1690. Battle of Beachy Head, leading to trial and dismissal of Torrington.
1692. Battle of La Hogue.
Battle of Steinkirk.
1693. Battle of Landen.
Disaster to the Smyrna Fleet.
1694. Failure of expedition against Brest, and death of Talmash.
1695. William takes Namur.
1697. Peace of Ryswick. Louis acknowledged William as King, and recognised Anne as his successor.
1698. First Partition Treaty between England, Holland, and France. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands. The Dauphin to have Naples, Sicily, the Tuscan ports, and Guipuscoa. The Archduke Charles to have Milan.
1699. Death of the Electoral Prince.
1700. Second Partition Treaty.
Death of Charles II. of Spain. Louis accepts the will in favour of Philip.
1701. Grand Alliance concluded.
Death of James II. and proclamation of the Pretender as James III. by Louis XIV.
1702. Death of the King.

Anne—1702-1714.

1702. Marlborough and Godolphin chiefs of the Ministry.
Rochester is dismissed.
War with France.
Battle of Vigo Bay.
1703. Methuen Treaty with Portugal.
Savoy joins the allies.
1704. Nottingham, a high Tory, leaves the Ministry.
Harley and St. John take office.
Battle of Blenheim.
Capture of Gibraltar.
1705. Lord Cowper becomes Lord Chancellor.
Capture of Barcelona by Peterborough.
1705. Whig majority in Parliament.

1706. Battle of Ramillies.
Sunderland Secretary of State.
1707. Union with Scotland.
1708. Battle of Almanza.
Harley and St. John removed from the Ministry. Walpole becomes Secretary of War.
Battle of Oudenarde.
Capture of Minorca.
1709. Negotiations for peace with Louis break down.
Battle of Malplaquet.
1710. Impeachment of Sacheverell.
Failure of Conference at Gertruydenberg.
Fall of the Ministry. HARLEY and ST. JOHN form a fresh one and begin negotiations for peace.
1711. Dismissal of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough.
OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY ACT passed to prevent Dissenters qualifying for office by 'occasionally' conforming.
Creation of twelve new peers.
1712. Public negotiations with France at the Hague.
1713. Peace of Utrecht.
Anne and the Protestant succession acknowledged.
England to possess Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and England to have (1) the *Asiento—i.e.*, right of slave trade to America; (2) right to send one ship a year to trade in the South Seas.
1714. Quarrel between Harley and St. John; removal of Harley.
Illness of Anne.
Shrewsbury becomes Lord Treasurer.
Death of the Queen.

a. F.